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# **PAHUKANILUA:**

## **HOMESTEAD OF JOHN YOUNG**



**PU'UKOHOLA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE  
KAWAIHAE, HAWAII**



PAHUKANILUA:

Homestead of John Young  
Kawaihae, Kohala,  
Island of Hawai'i

Historical Data Section  
of the  
Historic Structure Report

by

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Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site

September 1978

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures . . . . .	iv
Introduction . . . . .	1
Young tombstone inscription . . . . .	3
Note on names . . . . .	4
Statement of Significance . . . . .	5
JOHN YOUNG HOMESTEAD 1798-1850 . . . . .	8
John Young's Real Estate . . . . .	8
John Young Homestead 1793-ca. 1850 . . . . .	15
Location . . . . .	17
Physical and Temporal Attributes . . . . .	17
Conclusions . . . . .	18
JOHN YOUNG HOMESTEAD ca. 1850-1973 . . . . .	19
Keoni Ana and L.C.A. 8515:1 . . . . .	19
Ka'oana'eha, Puna and L.C.A. 4522 . . . . .	24
Church Lot . . . . .	27
Lyons Houselot . . . . .	32
Fishpond at or near Pahukanilua . . . . .	34
Adjacent Land Commission Awards . . . . .	35
APPENDIX A Young Family Geneology . . . . .	39
APPENDIX B The Great Mahele . . . . .	42
APPENDIX C Land Commission Awards . . . . .	45

APPENDIX D Homestead : Historical References . . . . .	47
APPENDIX E Placenames of Homestead Gulches . . . . .	53
APPENDIX F Kawaihae Miscellanea . . . . .	56
Ancient fishing rights . . . . .	56
Sources of boundary knowledge . . . . .	57
Boundary disputes . . . . .	59
Salt Pans and 'ili 'āina of Kawaihae 2 . . . . .	60
Occupancy authorizations of Land Commission Awards . .	61
Wharf to Kauhuhu . . . . .	63
Kauhuhu to Makahuna . . . . .	64
Makahuna to Pelekane . . . . .	66
Kawaihae people . . . . .	67
APPENDIX G Palapala Hooko: 8515 part 1 . . . . .	72
APPENDIX H Ka'oana'eha . . . . .	73
Glossary . . . . .	79
Literature Cited . . . . .	80

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Looking west along island chain Island of Hawai'i Kohala district . . . . .	7
Figure 2	Kawaihae features and locations ca. 1829, 1978 . .	12
Figure 3	Land awards ca. 1850 . . . . .	13
Figure 4	John Young Homestead (upper portion) . . . . .	16
Figure 5	Land commission awards, Kawaihae bay, ca. 1850 . .	28



## Introduction

This historical data section of the Historic Structure Report should be considered preliminary. It is based only on data accumulated through September 1978. Programming of archeological investigations in the 1978 fiscal year dictated the need to synthesize the information now available to the Pacific Historian for the use of archeologists, interpreters, and park managers.

In 1978, an archeological investigation is being conducted under the supervision of the Pacific Archeologist, National Park Service, on what is identified in this monograph as the John Young Homestead (upper portion), a part of Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site. The lower portion of the homestead lies outside the park and is buried in 1978 under a fill of dredged coral.

Long term research by the Pacific Historian on John Young began in 1966 and had been conducted intermittantly ever since. It is still a continuing, intermittant project. It is estimated that perhaps half of the potential sources have been searched for information on John Young and his homestead at Kawaihae. Sources involved include known ships' logs, journals, diaries, reports, notes, government documents, and the records of travellers to, and residents of, the Hawaiian Islands for the period 1790 through 1835 and beyond.

John Young was a major figure in Hawaiian History and his recorded contacts numerous. "Accounts by voyagers [to Hawai'i] between 1790 and 1820 mention him more often than any other individual except Kamehameha [I]."<sup>1</sup> Meager indeed, however, are the details recovered to date about his Kawaihae homestead. Documentation which should resolve any local controversy concerning the location of the John Young Homestead was recently found in the records of the Kingdom's Boundary Commission. It held hearings in 1876 at Kawaihae adjacent to the homestead, and in other places in the district of Kohala.<sup>2</sup>

A debt is acknowledged to the late John F. G. Stokes, curator of collections, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. His interest in John Young led him to collect over the years numerous notes on the scattered sources. These notes, collected in the 1920's and 1930's are in the custody of the Hawaiian Historical Society. The society made copies available to the National Park Service to assist

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<sup>1</sup>Stokes 1938:16. See Bibliography for full titles. Stokes 1938:13-38 dealt with proof that John Young was an Englishman and wrote to eliminate his sometimes mistaken identity with four, possibly five, other men named John Young who visited Hawai'i ca. 1800.

<sup>2</sup>Kamoeahu 1876:391; Parker 1876:392; Wahinenui 1876:392.

in research. Stokes' notes led to many of the original sources, or to reliable copies, and suggested others.

Assistance in the more technical aspects of Hawaiian land matters and in making documents available came from John Cline Mann of Austin Tsutumi Associates; attorney Frederick G. Reicker; Kenneth Nurse of Hawaiian Trust which handles legal matters of the Queen Emma estate; Herbert Ewaliko of the Land Office, State of Hawai'i; James C. Faries of Laurance Rockefeller's Olohana Corporation; and Long and Melone, title abstractors. Special appreciation is given to George E. K. Awai, long retired from the Territorial Land Office. Notes he left in the Land Office files on Young family land matters were of great assistance. Peg Apple, wife and my frequent collaborator, has ridden herd on this report's readability and clarity.

Russell A. Apple.

Kaka'ako, Honolulu  
September 1978



"Beneath this Stone  
are deposited the remains of  
JOHN YOUNG  
(of Lancashire in England)  
The Friend and Companion in Arms of  
KAMEHAMEHA  
who departed this life  
December 17th 1835,  
in the 93rd year of his age  
and the 46th of his residence on the  
SANDWICH ISLANDS"

Tombstone, Royal Mausoleum  
Nu'uuanu Valley, O'ahu

## Note on Names

### Gulches:

In this report, the modern names for the gulches on either side of the John Young Homestead have been used. These are the names found on recent maps. See Figures 2, 3, and 4 for these modern names; see Appendix E for a discussion of the placenames of these gulches.

### Pahukanilua:

This was the placename associated in 1848 with the lower portion of the John Young Homestead. It is assumed that Pahukanilua as a place also included the upper portion of the Homestead. The place named Pahukanilua lies within the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa; and the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa lies within the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina, which lies in the District of Kohala, Hawai'i Island.

### Kawaihae Hikina = Kawaihae 2

Kawaihae 2 is the modern, legal name for the ahupua'a which was traditionally called Kawaihae Hikina, and perhaps rarely was called Kawaihae Hema. Context and time frame determined which placename was chosen for use in this report. Figure 1C shows the complete ahupua'a.

### Kawaihae Komohana = Kawaihae 1 = Kawaihae 'Ākau.

Kawaihae 1 is the modern, legal name for the ahupua'a which was traditionally called Kawaihae Komohana and sometimes Kawaihae 'Ākau. All three names are used in this report. Figure 1C shows the complete ahupua'a. Kawaihae Komohana and Kawaihae Hikina are adjacent.

### John Young = Olohana

### John Young II (Jr.) = Keoni Ana

### Ka'oana'eha = Malie or Mary Kuamo'o = Mrs. John Young

Spelling of Hawaiian placenames, names and words follow the Hawaiian Dictionary by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1971) and Place Names of Hawaii by Pukui, Elbert and Esther T. Mookini (University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1974). The pronunciation of many names was unknown; for these no attempt was made to write them with hamzas and macrons. In quoted material, of course, the original spelling was followed.

(A glossary of Hawaiian words follow the appendices).

### Statement of Significance

Englishman John Young, boatswain on a ship trading at Kealahukua Bay, Hawai'i Island, in 1790, was not permitted to rejoin his ship. He was detained ashore by the Hawaiian high chief Kamehameha, later to be known as Kamehameha I, and still later as Kamehameha the Great. Together with Isaac Davis, another Englishman ashore by accident at the time, Young was one of the two leading foreign advisors to Kamehameha as this chief conquered island after island to found the Kingdom of Hawai'i, political ancestor of the State of Hawai'i. Both Davis and Young lived out their lives in the Islands. When Davis died in 1810, Young adopted the Davis children.

Young became a high Hawaiian staff chief with the name of Olohana, the Hawaiian language imitation of his boatswain's call "All Hands" during the battles of conquest. Young also served Kamehameha later in civilian capacities as business agent, friend, advisor, keeper of the royal arsenal, captain, pilot and royal agent. Young was governor of Hawai'i Island from 1801 through 1812, years when Kamehameha was absent from his home island. Kamehameha kept his native staff chiefs close to him in court at Honolulu where he could watch them for signs of disloyalty. Young made his permanent home at Kawaihae, but did much travelling on the King's business to other parts of the Kingdom. Through many decades he was the leading resident chief at Kawaihae.

Because of Young's residence at Kawaihae, Hawai'i's first cattle were landed there in 1793 and the first horses in 1803. It was known Young would know how to care for them. After Kamehameha the Great died in 1819, Young assisted Kamehameha II in the ceremony which marked the overthrow of the Polynesian taboo system in the Kingdom of Hawai'i and which resulted in the razing of the temples. The brig Thaddeus stood off-and-on Kawaihae Bay in 1820 while the pioneer load of Christian missionaries from

New England sent representatives ashore to seek Young's permission to have an audience with Kamehameha II. Young advised the newly crowned King to let the missionaries ashore on a trial basis to teach reading, writing, and simple arithmetic to the high chiefs. Their landing was the first of a series of events which led eventually to the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States. Young seems to have been present and involved in every event of lasting importance in Hawai'i from 1790 through 1820.

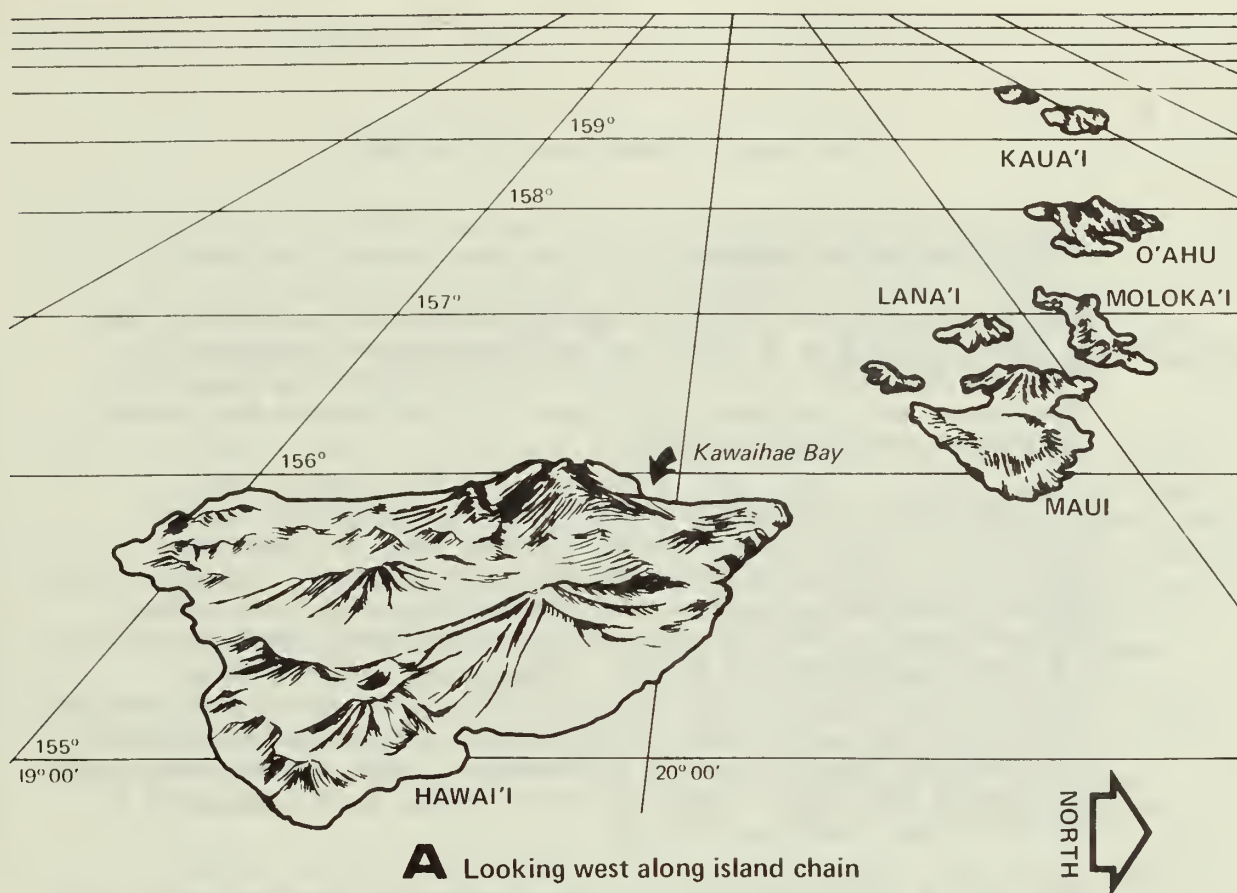
Young's indirect contributions to Hawaiian history come through his descendents, all members of Hawaiian nobility. Among them were John Young Jr., best known as Keoni Ana, who served Kamehameha II as advisor and Kamehameha III as premier; and Young's granddaughter Emma, queen of Kamehameha IV. Later, as dowager queen, Emma was a prime contender for election to the throne.<sup>3</sup>

John Young's Homestead at Kawaihae is nationally significant because of its long association with a man and events important to the founding and early decades of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. It is significant also as the seat of a chiefly Hawaiian family, prominent in the affairs and history of the Kingdom. Architecturally, the homestead contained early, if not the first, buildings of Western design permitted by Kamehameha the Great to be built in the Hawaiian Islands. Their ruins still exist.

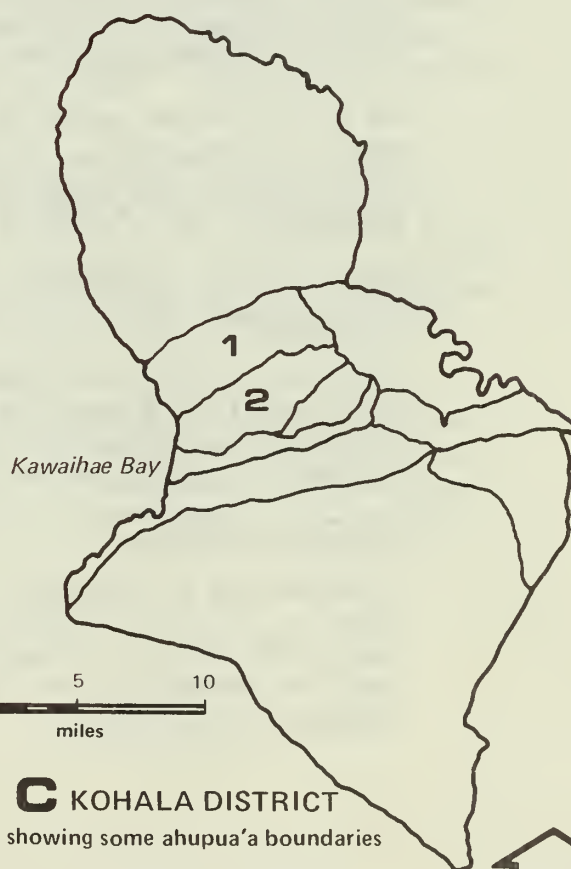
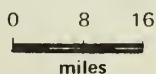
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<sup>3</sup>See Apple 1969:25-34 for notes and bibliography; Kuykendall 1957:453 for index on John Young and Keoni Ana; Kuykendall 1967:752 for Queen Emma index; and Kelly 1974:8-18 for another but similar evaluation of John Young as a historical figure.





**B** ISLAND OF HAWAII  
showing traditional districts



**C** KOHALA DISTRICT  
showing some ahupua'a boundaries

- 1 - Kawaihae 1 (Komohana)
- 2 - Kawaihae 2 (Hikina)



## John Young's Homestead (1798-1850)

### John Young's Real Estate

John Young, the Englishman turned Hawaiian chief, became a man of real property. By 1793, he had "Estates well stored with Hogs and plantations of all kinds of vegetables" as well as a "Townhouse near the Royal Residence" at Kealahou Bay, where Kamehameha was headquartered.<sup>4</sup>

As a foreigner, Young had no local family connection and no loyalties except to his benefactor, Kamehameha. Young was trusted with managing resources which had potential to be turned against Kamehameha in the competitive situation of the times. These resources included warriors, horticultural lands, military and naval equipment and stores. When Young's first wife, Na-moku-'elua, died about July 20, 1804, Young married Ka'oana'eha (see Appendix H), a niece of Kamehameha. This marriage further strengthened Young's ties to Kamehameha. Young called Kamehameha the "great one" in at least one diary entry.<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A for the Young Family geneology.

Long before Young married into the Kamehameha family, he was one of the landed high chiefs; all held their real estate; however, only as long as it pleased the ruling chief. "All lands were the sole property of the ruling chief to give, transfer, or reclaim as he saw fit. Upon his death the land reverted to his heir to be redistributed according to his own wishes."<sup>6</sup> Kamehameha was such a ruling chief. He died in 1819. His heir was his sacred son Liholiho, who ruled as Kamehameha II. The heir of Kamehameha II was another sacred son of Kamehameha I and ruled as Kamehameha III.

Ruling chiefs assigned various ahupua'a to their high staff chiefs. Some ahupua'a the ruling chiefs kept for themselves. Ahupua'a, the basic land units, varied in size, from a few acres to thousands of acres. An ideal ahupua'a was a pie-slice shaped piece of land which ran from a mountain top, the apex, and broadened as it ran downslope and offshore. Frequently natural features, such as gulches or ridges, marked ahupua'a boundaries. One such ahupua'a,

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<sup>4</sup>Manby 1927:30.

<sup>5</sup>Death date of Na-moku-'elua is given in Polynesian, Oct. 4, 1851: p. 47, col. 4. Young diary 1798, Aug.-Dec., as quoted in Apple 1971:206. See Stokes 1938:15-16 for marriages and children. See also Appendix A for Young family geneology.

<sup>6</sup>Barrère 1962:15-16.



one with gulches as seaward boundaries, was the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina, assigned by Kamehameha to John Young. Its adjacent twin ahupua'a was Kawaihae Komohana, assigned by Kamehameha to his "Prime minister," Ka-lani-moku. Together the two ahupua'a were known as the land of Kawaihae, or simply "Kawaihae." (See Fig. 1C).

Ahupua'a were subdivided into smaller units, usually 'ili 'āina, whose tenant families furnished the goods, products and services which were passed on a gift/tax basis to their absentee landlords, and from them and through them a portion went to the ruling chief.<sup>7</sup> Lesser chiefs and commoners in residence within the well-defined and well-known boundaries of each ahupua'a lived and worked on their assigned subdivisions, such as an 'ili 'āina, often over generations as gardeners, artisans, irrigation specialists, fishermen, and laborers through many changes of landlords. Often the landlords were absent, required to travel with and in the court of a ruling chief. In such cases, there was usually a resident land manager, the konohiki, appointed by the landlord.

In the case of the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina, there were many residents, all of whom owed allegiance to their landlord. Landlord John Young--Olohana--appears to have been in residence on his ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina much more frequently than other staff chiefs in the court of Kamehameha were in residence on theirs.

John Young retained possession, use and control of many of the various ahupua'a and 'ili 'āina assigned him through several changes on the throne during his long lifetime. It should be realized--John Young certainly did--that his possession, use and control of real estate was at the will of its owner: Kamehameha the Great, followed by Kamehameha II and then Kamehameha III.

By 1793, Young held property at Waiakea, in the district of Hilo--three estates assigned him by Kamehameha--and one estate near Cape Kumukahi, in the district of Puna, transferred to him by Ke'e-au-moku, a close associate of Kamehameha.<sup>8</sup> These were in addition to Young's "plantation" at Kawaihae.<sup>9</sup> All of the above real estate was on the Island of Hawai'i (see Fig. 1B).

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<sup>7</sup>Barrere 1962:15-16.

<sup>8</sup>Vancouver 1801: III, 235.

<sup>9</sup>Menzies 1920: 101.

Young was assigned these for his service, 1790-1791, as part of Kamehameha's land forces.<sup>10</sup> Young also helped Kamehameha conquer northwest up the island chain, 1794-1795, for which Young was assigned by Kamehameha additional lands, both ahupua'a and 'ili 'āina, on other islands (see Fig. 1A).

In his second and final will, dated June 26, 1834, Young identified "his" lands. There were mostly ahupua'a, with a few 'ili. On Hawai'i Island there were 29 lands, including one land at Kawaihae. On Maui Island, there were five lands; on Lana'i Island, one land; on Moloka'i Island, one land and on O'ahu Island, there were two lands.

Young's second will was endorsed by Kamehameha III, an endorsement which indicated royal consent in confirming Young's continued possession, use and control. This was royal recognition, as early as 1834, that certain people and families had gained some interests in lands assigned them for service to the crown of the Kamehameha dynasty. This recognition became more formal and legal in the Great Mahele (1848--see Appendix B).

None of Young's land holdings were adjacent; they were scattered. This followed Kamehameha's custom of denying to any high staff chief, even Young, the ability to consolidate sufficient resources to consider revolt.

In his 1834 will, made the year before he died, Young petitioned Kamehameha III to equally divide most of these lands among his surviving children and the surviving children of the by-then deceased Isaac Davis, " . . . in such manner as it may please his Majesty the King and his chiefs. Provided Always that each and all of the said children receive a just and equal portion." Some of the land holdings Young had already assigned to his wife, and in his will he confirmed this assignment.<sup>11</sup> For much of her life, Ka'oana'eha was also known as Malie (or Mary) Kuamo'o.

In his earlier, but undated will, ca. 1827, Young hoped that

our Young King /Kamehameha III, then about 12  
years old/ will fullfil the Wishes of his honored  
Father /Kamehameha the Great/. My own Lands I  
wish my Children to enjoy as I have don Likewise

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<sup>10</sup>Macrae: 1922:50.

<sup>11</sup>Young ca. 1827.

My Wife the lands I got from Tammahama for my Services to him in his Wares in conquering the Islands of Owhyee, Mowee, Molotoy and Waahoo and at his desese he told his Son Rihoriho Kamehameha II to take care of me and my Children which I hope in God our Young King . . . and all the Leading Chiefs will fulfill the wishes of our ever lamented and beloved Tammahamma it is my Wish that lands be sacred to my Children and Wife . . .<sup>12</sup>

To follow the history of Kawaihae after Young's death in 1835, it is necessary to single out two of Young's children by Ka'oana'eha and one of his grandchildren. One child is high chief John Young, Jr., better known as Keoni Ana. Keoni Ana was born at or near Kawaihae about March 12, 1810, was a companion of Kamehameha III and later served him as premier of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Another is Keoni Ana's older sister, the high chiefess Kekela, with the Christian name of Fanny (Pani in Hawaiian); born at Kawaihae about July 21, 1806.<sup>13</sup> She married the Hawaiian chief Naea. Their child, the high chiefess Emma, married Kamehameha IV, grandson of Kamehameha the Great. Tradition indicates that Emma was born at Kawaihae.<sup>14</sup> Later in life, dowager queen Emma took the Hawaiian name of Ka-lele-o-na-lani (the flight of the chiefs out of her life) to symbolize her losses through death, first of her son, the Prince, and then of her husband, the King.

To follow the history of Kawaihae after Young's death in 1835, it is also necessary to be familiar with two land reform programs of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. One program was the Great Mahele of 1848 (see Appendix B),<sup>15</sup> by which the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Komohana (#1) was retained by the crown, and the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina (#2) was granted to Keoni Ana. This included the upper portion of the homestead (see Figs. 2 and 3), which probably had been abandoned in 1835.

The other program was that of Land Commission Awards (see Appendix C),<sup>16</sup> 1846-1855, by which houselots, small garden plots and other

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<sup>12</sup>Young ca. 1827.

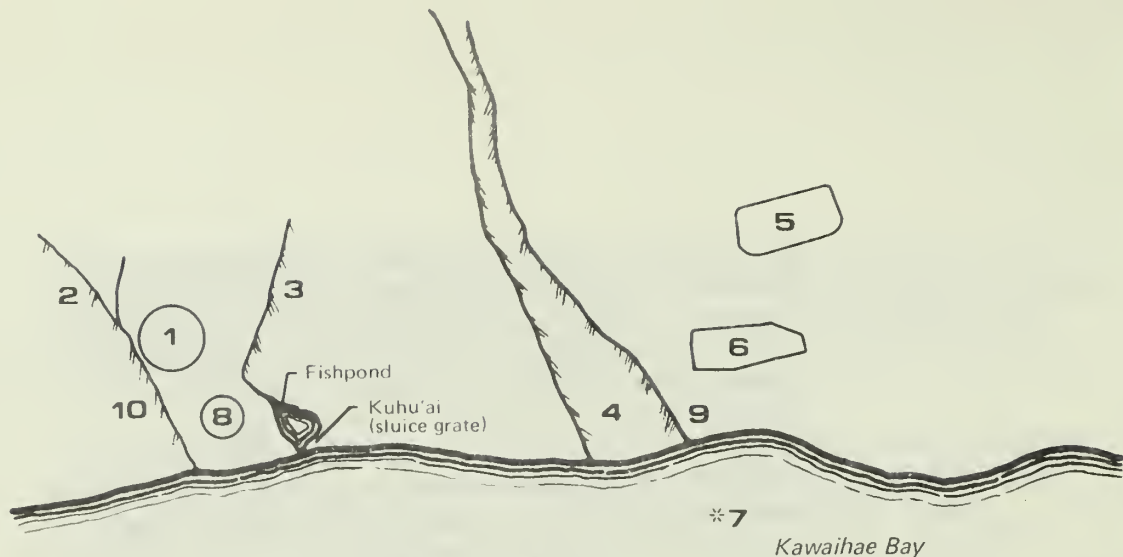
<sup>13</sup>Foreign Office and Executive Document No. 206, Archives of Hawai'i.

<sup>14</sup>See Kelly 1974:16.

<sup>15</sup>See also Chinen 1958; Kuykendall 1957:269-294.

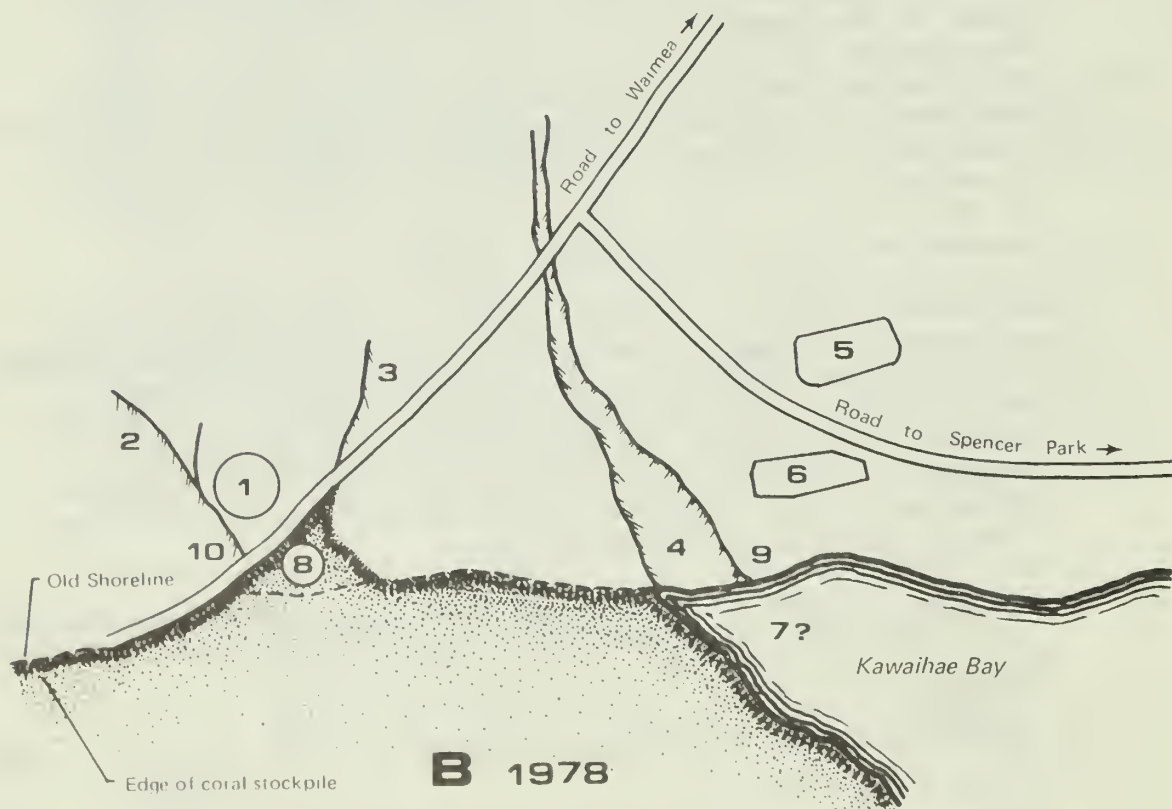
<sup>16</sup>See also Chinen 1961; Kuykendall 1957:279-282.





**A** ca.1819

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 John Young Homestead (upper portion) | 6 Mailekini Heiau                                   |
| 2 Makahuna Gulch (modern name)         | 7 Haleokapuni Heiau                                 |
| 3 Makeahua Gulch (modern name)         | 8 Pahukanilua: John Young Homestead (lower portion) |
| 4 Pohaukole Gulch                      | 9 Pelekane  |
| 5 Pu'ukoholā Heiau                     | 10 Hanakahi   |



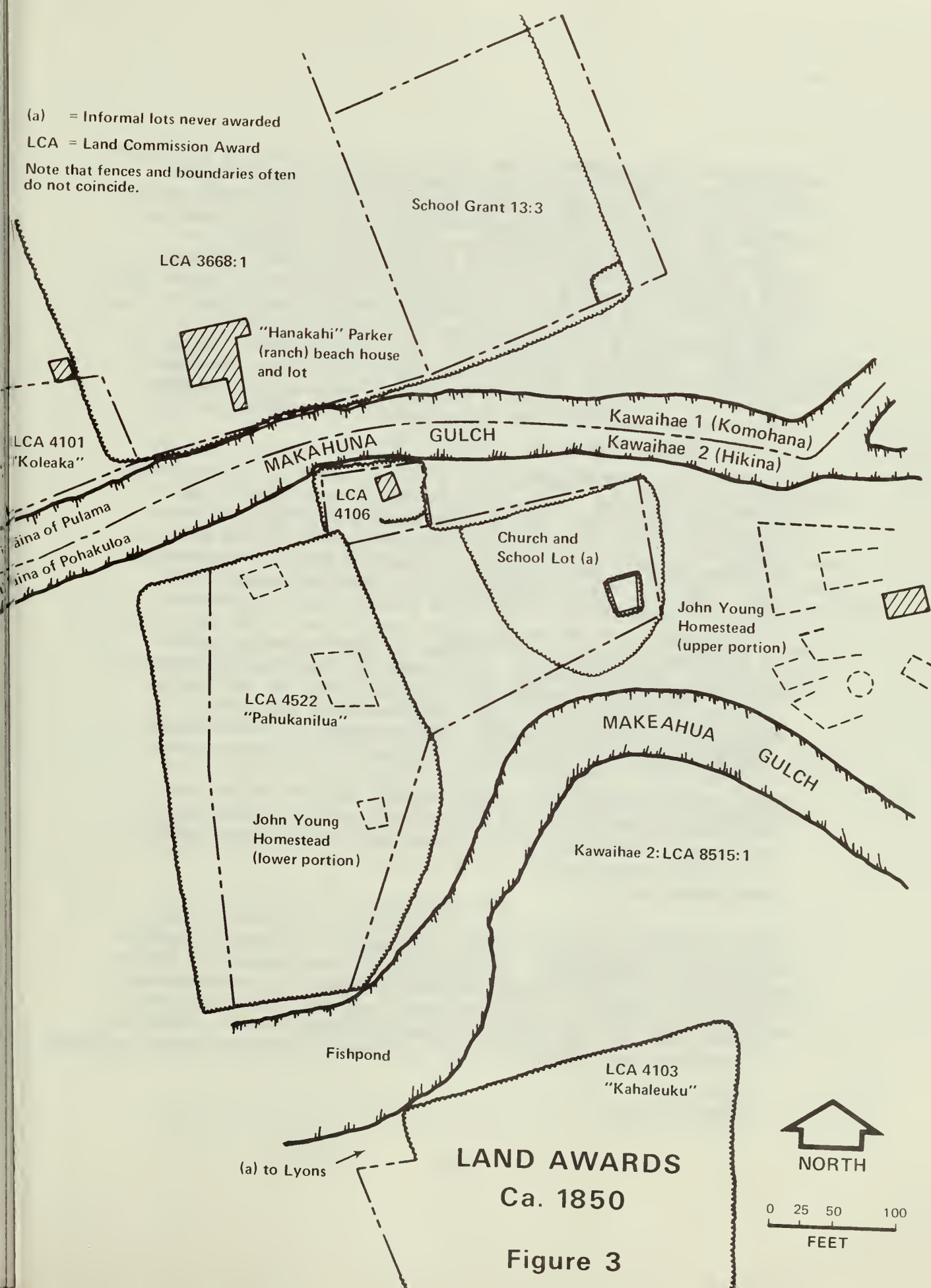
**B** 1978

## KAWAIHAE FEATURES AND LOCATIONS



Figure 2

(a) = Informal lots never awarded  
 LCA = Land Commission Award  
 Note that fences and boundaries often do not coincide.



small utilized pieces of land within ahupua'a received boundaries and were awarded to their long-time tenants or their heirs. The John Young Homestead (lower portion) was bounded and awarded under this program; thus its ownership became legally distinct from the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina which surrounded it. This move effectively separated the abandoned upper portion of the homestead from the still-occupied lower portion. After 1848, legislative acts attempted to protect certain traditional rights, such as gathering firewood in the forested portion of an ahupua'a,<sup>17</sup> for lesser chiefs and commoners still in residence on their traditional houselots within that ahupua'a, whether or not they held land commission awards). The land awards under this program near the John Young Homestead are shown in Fig. 3, and for Kawaihae beach in general Fig. 5.

The 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa was a narrow strip of land--a named management unit of Kawaihae Hikina--which ran inland from the sea with its northern edge at the beach along Makahuna Gulch (see Fig. 3), and its entire northern edge coinciding with the northern edge of the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina. Put another way: the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa was the northernmost 'ili 'āina of Kawaihae Hikina (#2) and abutted the 'ili 'āina of Pulama, which was the southernmost 'ili 'āina of the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Komohana (#1). It was on the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa that John Young and his family lived (see Appendix D (22)). Over time, boundaries, and even names of 'ili 'āina, have become lost--for instance, the southern boundary of Pohakuloa is not known today. (Pahukanilua is the placename within Pohakuloa on which the Young housing complexes stood).

Appendix F includes the known names of the 'ili 'āina of Kawaihae Hikina, but their boundaries and their locations are not known. Land utilization of ahupua'a in the last half of the 19th century evidently did not need the 'ili 'āina for management units.

In one sense, the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa is the John Young Homestead; in a broader sense, the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina is also the Homestead. This report also recognizes and favors the narrow view that the Homestead is physically the two nearby clusters of houses, one on the beach and the other just inland on the brow of a small hill. These two clusters are termed for convenience the lower and upper portions of the John Young Homestead.

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<sup>17</sup>Kelly 1971:7.



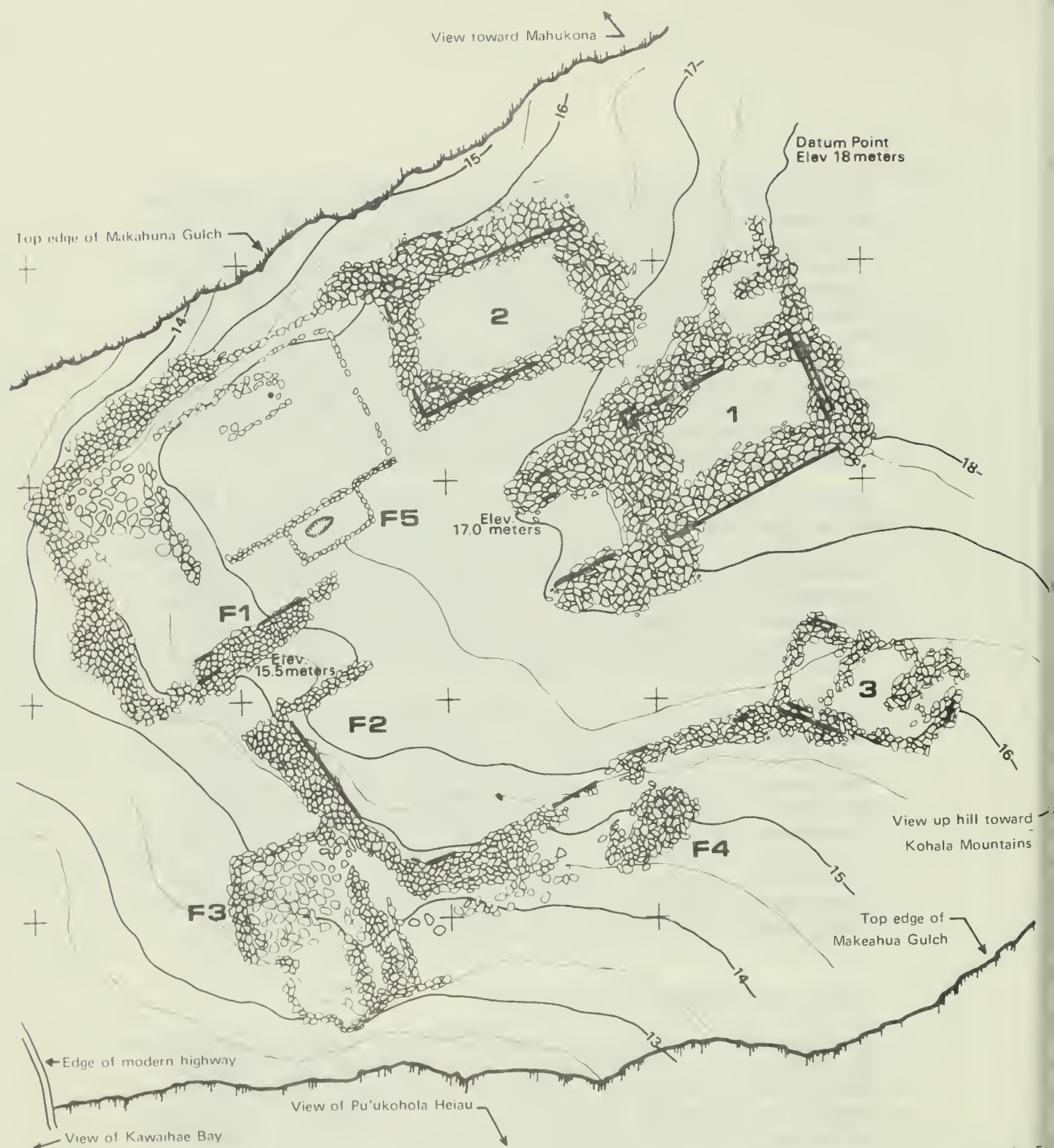
Both clusters are in the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa. Pahukanilua is known to be the placename associated in 1848 with the lower portion; up to 1835 it probably referred to both portions (see Appendix D (19) (20)). That is, Pahukanilua may well have been the placename for land which contained both clusters; a named piece of land within the 'ili 'aina of Pohakuloa, within the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina. If one could, and were bold enough to ask High Chiefess Ka'oana'eha where she lived, her answer would depend on the context of the question and the location where asked. Her answer might vary from "Pahukanilua," which was the name of her houselot, to "Pohakuloa," to "Kawaihae Hikina," "Kawaihae-kai," or just "Kawaihae."

Young's tenants lived on the 'ili 'āina of Pohakuloa as well as on the other 'ili 'āina of Kawaihae Hikina. Apparently each 'ili 'āina was a management unit. It is inferred from testimony in 1848 that each such management unit had an overseer (luna) and that Kawaihae Hikina had delegation of authority downward and outward from Young (and later, from Ka'oana'eha) through the konohiki, a functioning resident deputy (see Appendix F). A man called Ioba Puna has been identified as the konohiki for Ka'oana'eha.

Some of Young's tenants lived well inland--miles upslope from the beach--and formed a separate community from those who lived closer to the beach. There were also scattered houses between the beach and inland communities of both Kawaihae ahupua'a. The interior boundary between Kawaihae Komohana and Kawaihae Hikina was well known by those living upslope (see Appendix F). The inland people were said to live "mauka." The lower or beach portion was called "Kawaihae-kai," or as with any beach area, just "makai." This report deals principally with Kawaihae-kai. Beach people were said to live "makai."

#### John Young Homestead 1793-ca. 1850

The historical references to the John Young Homestead--there are 24 known to date--form Appendix D. From these 24 references, the following statements appear reasonable and are among the deductive statements which can be made. Numbers in parenthesis after each statement are those of the references in Appendix D which support and justify that statement.



FIELD DRAWING

JOHN YOUNG HOMESTEAD (upper portion)

(after Ladd 1977)

0 1 2 3 4 5  
Approx. scale in meters

Figure 4

### Location

1. John Young made his principal residence at Kawaihae. (1, 2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24).
2. John Young lived at Kawaihae on the opposite side of the gulch from the 1876 beach home of John P. Parker, whose house lot at Kawaihae is identified as L.C.A. 3668:1 (Fig. 3). (21, 22, 23, 24). For the names of the gulch, see Appendix e<sup>7</sup>
3. That houselot which became L.C.A. 4522 in 1848 (Fig. 3) was part of John Young's homestead. (2, 18, 19, 20). It is identified in this report as John Young Homestead (lower portion)<sup>7</sup>.
4. That houselot on the brow of the hill above L.C.A. 4522 and on the same side of the gulch, was part of John Young's homestead. (4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17). It is identified in this report as John Young Homestead (upper portion). This is the houselot with visible ruins of stone buildings and other features which is the subject of archeological excavation in 1978. See Figs. 3 and 4. The upper houselot was part of the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina in the 1848 Great Mahele award to Keoni Ana (John Young II). Keoni Ana received Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) 8515:1 for this ahupua'a on December 17, 1853, from the Land Commission; and later, on October 18, 1854, Royal Patent 1666:1. Both the award and the patent of the ahupua'a were issued by placename only, with boundaries to be set later. Boundaries were set in 1903.<sup>7</sup>

### Physical and Temporal Attributes

5. By 1793, John Young was in residence on what later became L.C.A. 4522, the lower portion of the homestead. (1, 2).
6. In 1798, John Young developed on the hill above the lower houselot another complex of buildings--"My house the cook house and storage room the house for the children and tahus" /those in care of the children<sup>7</sup>. (3, 4). The children were Robert Young, born about February 14, 1796; James Young Kaneoha, born about August 7, 1797; (both born of Young's first wife, Na-moku-'elua); and perhaps also Kale Davis, born about February 15, 1797, if this son of Isaac Davis was adopted when an infant.<sup>18</sup> (see Appendix A)<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup>Foreign Office and Executive Document No. 206, Archives of Hawai'i.



7. Principal building material for the upper homestead was stone. Finishing materials included coral-lime plaster and whitewash. Roofs were thatched with pili. (3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15) (17?).
8. Visitors were entertained in the upper portion buildings (7, 17),<sup>19</sup> and in the lower (17).
9. In the early 1800's, the John Young Homestead was the most prominent housing establishment on Kawaihae Bay. (7, 11, 12, 13, 15).
10. Vegetation was present on both the upper and lower portions of the homestead. (11, 19, 20). Apparently this was in contrast to the surrounding land, (11).

### Conclusions

11. John Young used the upper portion of his homestead as his principal residence (17) from 1798 until his death in 1835, at which time it was abandoned. There is a remote possibility that for a time after 1835, it was used for a Roman Catholic School (see "Church and School Lot" below). It was left to disintegrate after abandonment. John Young's possessions would have been distributed among family members and close friends.
12. Ka'oana'eha (the second Mrs. John Young) used the lower portions of the homestead as her principal residence from the time of her marriage to Young ca. 1804 to sometime after Young's death, probably into the late 1840's<sup>20</sup> (17, 18, 19, 20). The lower portion of the homestead was also occupied by retainers, such as Puna, whether or not Ka'oana'eha was in residence.
13. As a high chiefess, Ka'oana'eha followed the practices which separated women from men when she lived under the traditional Hawaiian civilization,<sup>21</sup> that is, up to and including the year 1819. For a high chiefess, this included quarters which

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<sup>19</sup>Also Freycinet in 1819. Freycinet 1829:24; Rose Freycinet 1927:26.

<sup>20</sup>Townsend visited her at Kawaihae on February 23, 1837. Townsend 1839:280. According to witnesses who testified before land commissioners at Kawaihae in 1848, Ka'oana'eha was assigning houselots in the 1840's. See Appendix F.

<sup>21</sup>Iselin, n.d., :71

were separate from those of her husband.<sup>22</sup> For Ka'oana'eha, this housing arrangement persisted after 1819 (17, 19, 20).

John Young Homestead ca. 1850-1973

Keoni Ana and L.C.A. 8515:1 (ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina)

John Young--Olohana--died testate December 16, 1835.<sup>23</sup> His death occurred at the home of his son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Charles Hyde Rooke, in Honolulu. Young apparently visited this physician whenever he felt urgent need of medical attention.<sup>24</sup>

Friday Dec. 18 /1835/. The funeral of Mr. Young was attended this afternoon from the house of Dr. Rooke. He was buried with military honors & his funeral was attended by a numerous concourse of people. The procession formed and proceeded to the meeting house where prayers were offered and an address in both native & Eng. delivered by /the Rev. Hiram/ Mr. Bingham--the theme of the address was from the Ninetieth Psalm. "The days of our years are three score years and ten and if by reason of strength labor and sorrow--So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts to wisdom." Mr. Young was 93 years of age and forty seven of these have been spent at the Sandwich Islands. He has always been friendly to the missionaries and he has seemed to rejoice in the success of the missionary cause in the islands His wife & one of his daughters are members of the S.I. /Sandwich Islands/ church and two of his sons in law. His remains were deposited in the enclosure of the Royal Cemetery.<sup>25</sup>

Under Young's 1834 will, King Kamehameha III was asked to divide equally the Young lands (except those designated for Ka'oana'eha) among Young's surviving children and the surviving children of Isaac Davis. The will named Rooke and Alexander Adams, an old friend and companion of Young, as executors. From Young's death

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<sup>22</sup>Apple 1971:5.

<sup>23</sup>Probate 2404, Supreme Court, Kingdom of Hawai'i; Archives of Hawai'i. His tombstone gives the date as December 17.

<sup>24</sup>Macrae 1922:36.

<sup>25</sup>Levi Chamberlain, Journal, 1822-1849. Vol. 20, pg. 7. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

in 1835 to moves by Rooke to settle the estate in 1847, Kawaihae Hikina had Ka'oana'eha in residence and in charge (see Appendix F "Occupancy Authorizations").

By 1846, the land commission was in operation and the Great Mahele under study. On June 2, 1847, Rooke forwarded to the land commission (1) an attested copy of the will "endorsed and Guaranteed by his Majesty Kamehameha 3rd;" and (2) a copy of Young's earlier (ca. 1827) will "to explain the intentions of the Testator."

Rooke claimed "all privileges and immunities appertaining to Lands given on the Battlefield as by custom or law established."<sup>26</sup>

By January 1848, Kamehameha III and his Privy Council (Keoni Ana was a member) had divided Young's lands to result shortly thereafter in Great Mahele awards to Ka'oana'eha, Keoni Ana, Fanny Kekela, Grace Kamaikui, Jane Lahilahi, James Young Kaneoha, Kale Davis, Peke Davis and George Davis Hueu. One of the lands Keoni Ana received was Kawaihae Hikina.<sup>27</sup> Keoni Ana's Great Mahele award was dated February 12, 1848, and gave him the right to seek a formal award from the Land Commission, and following that, seek a Royal Patent.

Legal separation of the upper and lower portions of the John Young Homestead was underway. The upper portion was part of Kawaihae Hikina; the lower portion was about to become a private inholding--for Puna and Ka'oana'eha had applied January 6, 1848 for what became L.C.A. 4522.

Acting on a petition of Rooke, the King's Privy Council on August 29, 1850, authorized the Minister of the Interior to grant Royal Patents to the heirs of John Young for land severally inherited from Young "without commutation or Division." In attendance at this Privy Council meeting, whose proceedings were secret, were His Majesty, Keoni Ana, Kae'o, Kana'ina, I'i, Kekuana'oa, Armstrong, Lee, Kapa'akea, Paki, Kanoa, Kapeau, and Wyllie,<sup>28</sup> the King's closest associates and advisors--high chiefs and/or ministers of the Kingdom's executive departments.

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<sup>26</sup>Rooke 1847.

<sup>27</sup>Great Mahele Book, pg. 161. Keoni Ana described his awarded lands as "the Inherited Lands." (Feb. 14, 1848). Rooke, Aug. 25, 1848, sent a copy of the Young will to Kamehameha III. The King listed the lands he awarded to the heirs of John Young on Sept. 1, 1848. (Native Register, Vol. 3:595).

<sup>28</sup>Petition dated June 22, 1850. Privy Council Records, Vol. 3b:791.



/Projecting back in time the 1978 climate of public opinion concerning conflicts of interest, governmental favoritism, meetings closed to the public and political ethics in general, many of the legal moves described here and below may appear questionable. However, in the mid-1800's, the Kingdom of Hawai'i was a new constitutional monarchy just emerging from a strong absolute monarchy. Much public business was conducted in private. A class system with all the privileges of rank existed. Land control was the basis of wealth and power. Keoni Ana was the Kingdom's Premier and a member of a leading chiefly family. He was addressed as "Your Excellency."/

Awardees of land under Kamehameha III's Great Mahele program were required to apply to the Land Commission for the formal award, which carried an L.C.A. number. For the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina the award was made December 17, 1853, and numbered L.C.A. "8515 part 1" (8515:1), see Appendix G. Unlike awards for houselots, the large tracts of land of the Great Mahele awards were unbounded and were made by placename. /Boundary matters as they affect Kawaihae-kai are covered in Appendix F, "Boundary Disputes"/. All L.C.A. awards apparently were subject to payment of commutation. Keoni Ana paid \$5.00. All such awards were also subjects to the rights of native tenants. These rights included land commission awards for their houselots within the ahupua'a (Puna and Ka'oana'eha's award, L.C.A. 4522, had been made in 1851); as well as gathering and passage. Keoni Ana's L.C.A. for Kawaihae Hikina was followed, October 18, 1854, by Royal Patent 1661:1, which excepted "mineral or metallic mines of every description," and declared that its boundaries were to be set later. /Boundaries were set late in 1903, and contained about 10,615 acres.<sup>29</sup> There was a waiver of commutation for the Royal Patent.

During Keoni Ana's tenure as owner of Kawaihae Hikina there is no evidence of any visits by him to his birthplace,<sup>30</sup> nor of any contacts with his mother, Ka'oana'eha, the resident chiefess. As far as the records show, Kawaihae Hikina was just another ahupua'a on Keoni Ana's list of real estate holdings. The known records may not reflect the true situation.

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<sup>29</sup>Abstract of The Queen's Hospital title 1975:34-43.  
L.C.A. Vol. 10:335.

<sup>30</sup>One tradition holds that Keoni Ana was born at Kiholo, a bay and fishpond in Kona a few miles south of Kawaihae.

Keoni Ana died testate July 18, 1857. By terms of his will, one third of his estate went to Queen Emma<sup>31</sup> (niece); one third to Peter Young Kaeo (adopted son and nephew); and one third to Albert K. Kunuiakea (nephew); see Appendix A. In the settlement, Queen Emma received several ahupua'a, including Kawaihae Hikina. Late in her lifetime, Dowager Queen Emma mortgaged her lands, including the one at Kawaihae, several times. The last mortgage was released in 1886, the year after her death, by her executor.<sup>32</sup> [Queen Emma's income from the Kawaihae property is discussed under L.C.A. 4522, below/.

In the reign of Kamehameha IV (1854-1863), the need of hospitals for the native people was recognized. To supplement a small legislative appropriation for this purchase, the King himself solicited subscriptions on the streets of Honolulu. This resulted in The Queen's Hospital (now The Queen's Medical Center), named by Kamehameha IV for Queen Emma, who took a keen interest in the project. The hospital opened in temporary quarters in 1859, bought land in downtown Honolulu and had a permanent facility by the end of 1860. From the start it has been operated by a board of trustees.

Dowager Queen Emma died testate April 25, 1885. Her will left one undivided half of her estate to The Queen's Hospital, and one undivided half to Albert K. Kunuiakea--then to his lawful issue, and if none, then to The Queen's Hospital.<sup>33</sup> Kunuiakea died March 10, 1903, without lawful issue, which placed total ownership of Kawaihae Hikina--by this time known as Kawaihae 2--in The Queen's Hospital. This consolidated ownership was the probable occasion for the petition which resulted in the settlement of the boundaries late that year. [It should be noted for the period 1893 through 1900, the political changes from revolution to the granting of an organic act for the governance of the Islands by the U.S. Congress, did not affect the ownership of Kawaihae 2. Between the revolution in 1893 through Statehood in 1959, the governments were known as The Provisional (1893-1894), the Republic of Hawai'i (1894-1898), and the Territory of Hawai'i (1898-1959)]7.

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<sup>31</sup>Emma married King Kamehameha IV, grandson of Kamehameha I, June 19, 1856. Family tradition indicates the future king and queen were betrothed by their parents shortly after Emma was born. Kuykendall 1966:II:275 fn37.

<sup>32</sup>Abstract, Queen's Hospital title 1875:44-59.

<sup>33</sup>Probate 1787, Supreme Court.

Starting in 1887, and continuing through 1973, there were leases of Kawaihae 2, subleases, lease mortgages and releases of lease mortgages, powers of attorney granted and recalled by leasees, selling of leases and suits over leases. Kahuā and Parker ranches were often involved. There were also quitclaim and other deeds for small parts of the ahupua'a from the trustees of The Queen's Hospital to the Territory of Hawai'i for roads and other public purposes.<sup>34</sup>

Three small parcels of Kawaihae 2 land at the beach were condemned by the Territory of Hawai'i in 1958 for a deep water port project. At the time of condemnation and taking, the parcels were identified as parcels 17, 21, and 22. For compensation, the trustees of The Queen's Hospital received about \$40,000. The Territory added these parcels to others they had acquired in the vicinity to make the larger Parcel E of about 23.66 acres. Parcel "E" was below the modern road which bisects the upper and lower portions of the John Young Homestead, and north of the road to Spencer Park which bisects Pu'ukoholā and Mailekini heiau. The three Queen's Hospital lots surrounded but excluded old road rights-of-way to Waimea and Puakō and enclosed but excluded three land commission awards in the beach end of Kawaihae 2.<sup>35</sup> Some of this former Queen's Hospital land in 1978 is covered by coral fill.

Three lots, identified as lots 2, 3, and 4, of Kawaihae 2 land at the beach were donated by the trustees of The Queen's Hospital April 4, 1973, for the Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site. Lot 2 (23.8023 acres) was the largest and included Pu'ukoholā heiau and land inland of the Spencer Park road. Lot 3 (8.6169 acres) included Mailekini heiau and land seaward of the Spencer Park road. Lot 4 (1.9591 acres) included the John Young Homestead (upper portion).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Abstract, Queen's Hospital title 1975:68-86, 139-506.

<sup>35</sup>Condemned in Civil 245, 276 combined, Dec. 31, 1959. Third Circuit Court. Land Office Deed 16331. Recorded in Book 3789:82. Governor's Executive Order 1988, Dec. 12, 1961, formally set the land aside for harbor purposes.

<sup>36</sup>Abstract, Queen's Hospital title 1975:794. Deed recorded in Vol. 9065:75. On Nov. 4, 1972, the symbolic gift of the land from the trustees was part of a pageant, "Ho'okupu 'Āina," held below and on Pu'ukoholā heiau, followed by a reception at nearby Spencer Park. Hawaiian Civic Clubs of Hawai'i Island presented the pageant, sponsored by The Queen's Hospital trustees, the Olohana Corporation and the National Park Service.



Ka'oana'eha, Puna and L.C.A. 4522<sup>37</sup>

Kawaihae Hikina was not among the lands confirmed by John Young in his will for his wife, Ka'oana'eha. Kawaihae Hikina was left to Keoni Ana, see above. But Ka'oana'eha was in residence at Pahukanilua, the John Young Homestead (lower portion) within the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Hikina. Also in residence at Pahukanilua was Ioba Puna, the konohiki, as resident land manager of the ahupua'a. In her later years, apparently Ka'oana'eha, like John Young, visited at the home of her physician son-in-law, Dr. Rooke, in Honolulu.

Together, Puna and Ka'oana'eha applied for and received L.C.A. 4522. The active agent in the application and later in the testimony at Kawaihae was Puna. The application was made on January 6, 1848; testimony was taken by the land commissioners at Kawaihae on September 11, 1848; and the formal award made on October 1, 1851, (21 months after Ka'oana'eha's death) to Puna and Ka'oana'eha, in that order.

L.C.A. 4522 was a houselot a little over an acre in size whose borders were marked by a stone wall. The award was bounded inland by the "government pasture" and the church enclosure; bounded on the Puakō side (to the south) by a small fishpond and the stream Makeahua; bounded on the shore side by the main beach "road"; and on the Kohala side (to the north) by the stream Makahuna and Kauī's houselot (L.C.A. 4106) enclosure. Stream names given here are the modern ones--see Appendix E. The houselot, termed a "Pahale" in the award, contained five houses and plants and was surrounded by L.C.A. 8515:1. Commutation of \$6.00 was paid, probably by Puna, for it was he after Ka'oana'eha's death who had the immediate beneficial possession.<sup>38</sup> Heirs of Ka'oana'eha

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<sup>37</sup>The actual Award (L.C.A. Vol. 4:626) assigns numbers "4522 to 4523." Some maps and documents list both numbers. However, L.C.A. 4523 was later awarded to Wahinealii and was located at Ke'ei, Kona, Hawai'i. This report has standardized on L.C.A. 4522. See Native Register Vol. 8:574 for the 4523 award.

<sup>38</sup>Native Register Vol. 8:6; Native Testimony Vol. 4:6-7. The description of the bounds in the text combines the verbal description and information from the sketch furnished in 1848 with the application.

were owners of an undivided half-interest, but Puna and his co-owner's heirs were legally mute thereafter.<sup>39</sup> No Royal Patent was sought, an unusual situation, and the reason for not seeking one is unknown.

L.C.A. 4522 was an insignificant piece of land compared to Ka'oana'eha's other holdings (see Appendix H). Ka'oana'eha died intestate January 22, 1850 before land commission awards and royal patents had been issued for her lands. No probate is on record. Her lawful heirs were Fanny Kekela Naea (daughter); Grace Kamaikui Rooke (daughter); Jane Lahilahi Kao (daughter); and Keoni Ana (son). Each owned one quarter interest.<sup>40</sup> The Land Commission Award (L.C.A. 8515B:1) for her lands (confirmed to her from John Young) followed her death. Keoni Ana, as Premier of the Kingdom, and in the name of the King ("Inoa Kamehameha"), issued Royal Patent 1665 to Ka'oana'eha for these lands on October 18, 1854,<sup>41</sup> four years after her death. Note that the lands mentioned in this paragraph do not include her Pahukanilua home.

While legally mute, at least one heir of Ka'oana'eha is assumed to have made beneficial use of Pahukanilua. Fanny Kekela Naea is known to have made her principal residence at Lahaina, Maui Island, but she apparently maintained a house at Pahukanilua--this is "Old Fanny Young's HS" on a 1903 map of Kawaihae 2.<sup>42</sup> Queen Emma, Fanny's daughter, also had or assumed some authority over Pahukanilua, for she collected \$60 for a year's rent from a house there in 1861. One room of her house in 1860 contained stored items deposited there for safekeeping by George Davis Hueu, a son of Isaac Davis. Queen Emma's agent indicated this was because

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<sup>39</sup>Trustees of The Queen's Hospital may have paid real property taxes on L.C.A. 4522 in the early 1900's--one obsolete tax map was seen which listed The Queen's Hospital as owner. Such payments, however, had stopped before the 1950's--hence the attempt by Dr. Charles Silva to title through adverse possession. Silva interview Aug. 16, 1978.

<sup>40</sup>Kamoamoa: memorandum of Title re Ahupua'a of Kamoamoa, Puna, Hawai'i; filed with Deed 8237, Land Office.

<sup>41</sup>Royal Patent, Vol. 6:267.

<sup>42</sup>Loebenstein 1903 map; Registered Map 2230, Survey Office. See Kelly 1974:17.

George Davis Hueu had a claim "on the House of Young" and "the room was wanted for nothing else."<sup>43</sup> The Queen Emma rent reference in 1861 and the Fanny Young house identification of 1903 may not refer to the same house, but certainly to Pahukanilua and houses within its enclosed lower portion. Pahukanilua was the sacred housing land of the chiefly Young family just as Pelekane (Figs. 2 and 5) was the sacred housing land of the royal Kamehameha family.<sup>44</sup>

Whatever houses stood within the Pahukanilua enclosure in 1903 were gone by the 1950's. No one was paying the real estate taxes, and by then Pahukanilua's 1.05 acres carried Territorial tax map key 6-2-01-21. Dr. Charles H. Silva, of Honolulu, enroute to his summer home at Puakō, discovered a vacant enclosure at Kawaihae without an apparent owner. Dr. Silva hired a local "Japanese man" to build a house in the enclosure. The man then lived in it. Dr. Silva began to pay the taxes--for if he did so openly for a term of years without contest he could claim ownership through Hawai'i's legal process of adverse possession. Before the necessary years were up, however, the house lot was condemned, in 1958, by the Territory of Hawai'i for deep water port improvements. The court and title searchers could find no conveyances on record by the awardees, Puna and Ka'oana'eha, and could find no probate of their estates.<sup>45</sup> Dr. Silva, with a house on the land and in possession, claimed full title. But so did some suddenly revealed heirs of Puna: Violet Marie Pua, Matilda (Mary) Alfapada Palacio and her brother, a Mr. Alfapada. Hearings under Civil Court Case 276 (combined with 245) were held in Hilo. The final order of condemnation and judgement awarded \$4,000 to the heirs of Puna, which sum included up to \$750 to Dr. Silva for his improvements.<sup>46</sup> Title to L.C.A. 4522 passed to the Territory of Hawai'i on January 7, 1959. The house lot was

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<sup>43</sup>Low to Webster, Jan. 15, 1861, letter books, Interior Department. Low said George Davis claimed to be Makamaka with the Young family. i.e., an intimate friend in terms of receiving and giving freely. There is no record of the identity of the renter.

<sup>44</sup>Kelly 1974:18-26.

<sup>45</sup>Notes on abstract of title, L.C.A. 4522, Long and Melone: Silva interview Aug. 16, 1978.

<sup>46</sup>Mary Alfapada Palacio claims descendancy from Sam Punakauwe, her great grandfather, who died at Kawaihae in Sept. 1948. /Both a Puna and a Kauwe were in residence at Kawaihae in 18487. Sam Punakauwe lived on what probably was L.C.A. 4091:1 (Fig. 5), and compensation for this place went to others. The Punakauwe



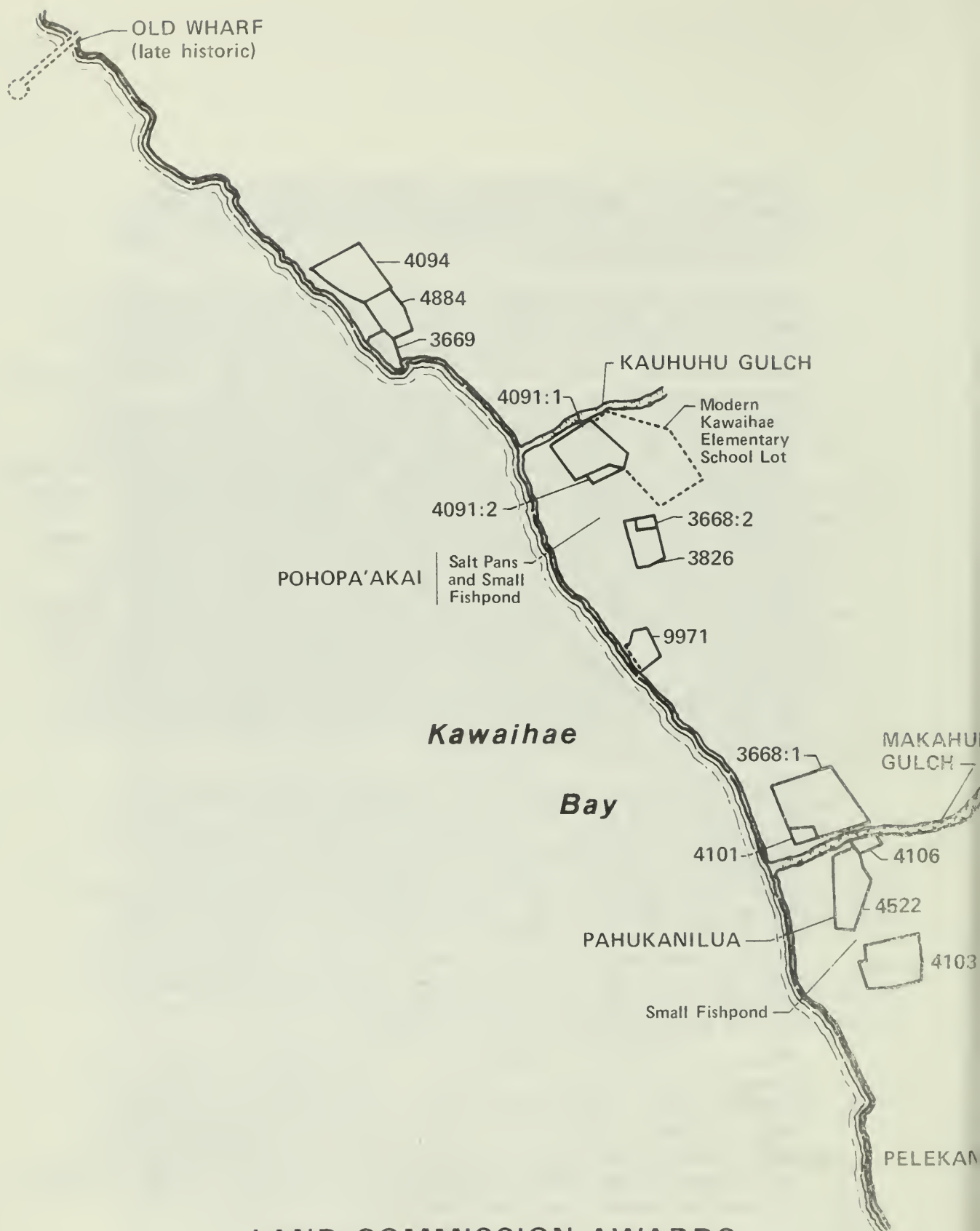
labeled "Lot 19" of the harbor land-acquisition project. The John Young Homestead (lower portion) became a part of Parcel E of the harbor project and lies buried in 1978 under a fill of dredged coral.

Between the lower and upper portions of the John Young Homestead several maps show a lot for a church.<sup>47</sup> The Rev. Lorenzo Lyons, ordained Congregational minister who headquartered at Waimea, had at various times up to 17 branch churches under his jurisdiction. Kawaihae was one of them, and received regular visits. A native preacher was in charge, and probably doubled as school teacher. (Akahi was the name of the school teacher ca. 1843 at Kawaihae.) In his 1834 report, Lyons indicated that Kawaihae had a "native house of worship" that was "not commodious," and had a congregation which varied in numbers over the years from 100 to 500. By 1835, Kawaihae had a mission school--one of up to 79 adult schools under Lyons' administration.<sup>48</sup> Schools at this time were operated by churches and enrolled only adults. Usually church and school occupied the same building. The church lot on the maps is believed to be the location of the church-school building from before 1834 through 1859. John Young must have at least verbally authorized occupancy of a location between the separate housing complexes. The location indicates approval or even sponsorship of the church and school as an institution by the resident land-holding chief, and then perhaps by the chiefess.

house was wooden, two-stories, and had screened enclosures for windows. It was well remembered by Mrs. Palacio. There was confusion at the court hearing over location of the house remembered by Mrs. Palacio and L.C.A. 4522. The house she remembered, and the pictures of it shown her were the same, but was not located on L.C.A. 4522. Mrs. Palacio claims her aunt Violet Marie Pua (now dead) received \$1,000 compensation, her brother received \$300 and she received \$300, all for L.C.A. 4522 land. Silva claims to have received \$700 for the improvements on L.C.A. 4522. Court records show the entire \$4,000 was paid, but its distribution is not on record.

<sup>47</sup>One is "Portion of Kawaihae 2nd," [Nov. 1933] Reg. Map 2959, Survey Office; another is portion of Tax Key Map 6:2:01, pg. 69 of Kelly 1974. Reg. Map 2959 has the notation on the original "Page 120 School Grants," but the 120 was later crossed out in pencil and 140 substituted. Searchers at the State Archives and in the Land Office could not identify the source for "School Grants."

<sup>48</sup>Lyons 1833-1859: esp. 2nd 1834 rpt.:3 and 1835:4.



## LAND COMMISSION AWARDS

Kawaihae Bay, ca. 1850



Figure 5

In 1843, the small church building was replaced by the Kawaihae people. The new one was larger and had stone walls. On Sunday, May 16, 1853, one of the Lyons children (probably Albert) attended the 1843-1859 "native church" at Kawaihae. He described it as being of stone and about half as big as the church building at Waimea. (This would make it about 25 by 60 feet in plan. The Kawaihae church roof was probably of thatched grass and would have been reroofed several times between 1843 and 1859). The Lyons child sat on a bench with the George Davis Hueu family, but the rest of the congregation sat on mats spread on small pebbles on top of the ground. Women wore black bonnets and holoku (loose, seamed dresses patterned after the Mother Hubbards of the missionary women). Some of the men wore shawls and loin cloths.<sup>49</sup> Later in 1853, after Kawaihae had experienced a small pox epidemic, Lyons wrote that the "Meeting House was most desolate. As I gazed on the few that had escaped the pestilence . . ." He counted 100 communicants in April 1853, but by the end of the year "there were but twenty-four, and not a youth among them."<sup>50</sup> As a port, Kawaihae had obviously been exposed to the contagious disease, perhaps by a way of Honolulu, and may have experienced a high death rate, as had Honolulu in 1853.<sup>51</sup> The death rate may have been higher than in Honolulu, for Kawaihae had no physicians or public health facilities.

Kawaihae's last Congregational church building was in a new location. It was built in 1858 by Kawaihae Congregationalists to specifications drawn up by Lyons. The new location put the church on the hill which overlooked Kawaihae Bay and it was in almost a position as prominent as the John Young Homestead, upper portion, had been ca. 1800. The new location was the brow of the hill just inland of L.C.A. 9971, see Fig. 5. The last building was razed in 1959, coincident with the harbor project.

Besides prominence and more breeze, there may have been additional reasons for a change of location for Kawaihae's Congregational Church building. The new building stood on the ahupua'a of Kawaihae Komohana--crown land. The old building stood on Kawaihae Hikina, which was by 1858 the private property of Queen Emma.

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<sup>49</sup>Lyons 1945:172. Imiola church at Waimea in 1853 was about 125 by 50 feet. Sandwich Island Mission: Minutes of General Meeting, 1843, p. 14. Lee 1969:5.

<sup>50</sup>Lyons 1945:159; Lyons 1833-1859.

<sup>51</sup>Kuykendall 1957:I:412.



The Queen, with her husband Kamehameha IV, was introducing to the Islands the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, a branch of the Anglican Church under the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>52</sup>

The Queen posed a threat to an institution of which she did not approve. The old building illegally squatted behind her house at Pahukanilua and on her private land. Crown land was politically safer, for the King was less likely to evict an institution which was still politically potent, even though it was out of royal favor. Then too, Kamehameha IV held crown land only by virtue of his occupancy of the throne. Crown land was not exactly private property.

To dedicate the new building and physically transfer its function from the old building and site, a celebration which included a feast was held on January 13, 1859. About 300 people, including some from Waimea, attended. The group formed a large circle on the old church lot, behind Pahukanilua, for speeches, prayers and recitation of an original ode. Part of the celebration was the burial of a conch-shell trumpet which ". . . for 40 years served to call the people to school and to meeting, for which services he must needs be strangled and buried and hence put to silence forever." A bell was to be part of the new church building. An iron hoop, struck by stone or hammer, sounded the call until the bell was installed.

From the circle near Pahukanilua, the congregation formed into marching order led by flutes and flags. At Pu'ukoholā Heiau there were speeches, singing and prayer.

The procession then retired to the recent place of worship where a farewell address was delivered in which touching allusions were made to the original founders now deceased, an original hymn sung and prayers offered--and then the whole company of residents and strangers . . . ascended the radiant hill of Keola Hou the name of the new church, . . .<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Kuykendall 1966:II:84-99. The Rev. Thomas Nettleship Staley was consecrated the first Anglican Bishop of Honolulu in Canterbury Cathedral, London, and arrived in Honolulu on Oct. 11, 1862.

<sup>53</sup>Lyons 1945:161; Lyons 1859:7-9; Lyons 1855:2 reports that the people of Kawaihae collected several thousand dollars from selling



As part of L.C.A. 8515:1, the Church and School Lot followed the same history as detailed in "Keoni Ana and L.C.A. 8515:1" above. The lot became part of Parcel E of the Kawaihae harbor project in 1959, but may not be completely buried under dredged coral fill and the roadbed of the modern highway, State route 26.

Figure 3 of this report and several tax key and other maps show School Grant 13:3 located in Kawaihae 1, and on the opposite side of Makahuna gulch from the John Young Homestead, upper portion.<sup>54</sup> Curtis J. Lyons, son of the Rev. Lorenzo Lyons, surveyed the school grant on November 23, 1853. Premier Keoni Ana approved it, as did (the Rev.) Richard Armstrong, Minister of Public Instruction. By 1853, education was no longer left exclusively to the Congregational, Roman Catholic and Mormon Churches, although their educational activities were partially government supported. More and more responsibility for education was being directly assumed by the Kingdom.<sup>55</sup> King Kalakaua issued a patent, School Grant 13, part 3 (13:3) on September 30, 1882 to the Board of Education to clear title to the land as it was no longer needed for school purposes, and was being transferred from Board of Education jurisdiction.<sup>56</sup> Note that the stone wall which surrounded the school lot did not coincide with the surveyed boundaries. A later school site, the "Kawaihae Elem. School Lot" is shown on Figure 5. It is assumed that a school was on what became School Grant 13:3 from ca. 1853 to sometime before 1882. School activities at Kawaihae appear to have moved from the old church lot at Pahunanilua, to what became School Grant 13:3, then to the northern end of Kawaihae beach by 1885, as shown by McDonald's map. The move was from private to crown land.

Irish potatoes in 1855, but the proceeds did not show up in the collection plates. Again in 1859, Lyons reports that sweet potatoes brought Kawaihae people \$7,000, but that no one knew where the money went. See also Lee 1969 for a history of the Kawaihae church.

<sup>54</sup>Such as registered maps 2690 (1914) and 2958 (1933), State Survey Office.

<sup>55</sup>Kuykendall 1966:II:351-367.

<sup>56</sup>The patent was issued under an act: To Authorize the Issuance of Royal Patents for Schools lands and School Sites, Sold by the Board of Education." The Hawaiian name of the lot was "Kahuahale Kula ma Kawaihae" (the school lot at Kawaihae).

In her 1974 study, Kelly refers to a local Kawaihae tradition of a Roman Catholic school on the brow of the hill in the vicinity of the John Young Homestead (upper portion) and School Grant 13:3. Kelly suggests that the Catholic school may have occupied the structures on the homestead's upper portion after the death of John Young in 1835, but thought that the homestead may have been on what became School Grant 13:3.<sup>57</sup>

No record could be found of any direct Catholic activity at Kawaihae. However, Fr. Walsh, during a one-month stay at Waimea--March 1841--established a mission there. (Eventually a chapel was built at Waimea). In November 1841, Fr. Lebreton was assigned full time to the Kohala District. After December 1842, his parish also included the districts of Hamakua and Hilo (see Fig. 1B).<sup>58</sup> Lyons, in 1858, mentions that there were Roman Catholic teachers about.<sup>59</sup>

Keoni Ana, who owned Kawaihae Hikina ca. 1841, might have permitted a Catholic school on his land even in his father's houses. There is no indication of any strong Protestant support on his part. Queen Emma, who owned Kawaihae Hikina by 1858, supported the Anglican church. She was anti-Congregationalist, anti-American, and judged by the title (Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church) of the institution she helped introduce, was also anti-Roman Catholic. Queen Emma (and later, the trustees of her estate) probably would not have knowingly permitted a Roman Catholic school on her Kawaihae land. What became School Grant 13:3 probably held a government school, but it could have held Catholic and government schools in succession. Lack of documentation does not preclude a Catholic school at Kawaihae. A Roman Catholic catechist or teacher may have been present for a time. Even though Kawaihae was a relatively small community, it was a port and could have attracted some passing Catholic attention.

#### Lyons Houselot

The Rev. Lorenzo Lyons visited Kawaihae, where one of his branch churches was located, up to four times a year. But Kawaihae was also a port, and used by Lyons for trips off-island to and from

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<sup>57</sup>Kelly 1974:71.

<sup>58</sup>Yzendoorn 1927:182-184.

<sup>59</sup>Lyons 1858:10.

his home mission station inland at Waimea. Some of his waits at Kawaihae for vessels lasted for weeks. While at Kawaihae, Lyons preached, visited in almost all of the houses, and on one visit while waiting for a ship, suspended seven church members.<sup>60</sup> Because of his need to spend protracted times at Kawaihae, Lyons maintained a house there on the beach. His occupancy of the land was obviously authorized by John Young and/or Ka'oana'eha. The location of the Lyons Houselot is shown on Fig. 3. One corner of L.C.A. 4103 was modified to exclude the Lyons house.<sup>61</sup> It has not been possible to document terminal dates for the house except to note that it was in existence by 1847, was there in 1853, was probably not there by 1883, and was certainly gone before the Loebenstein map of 1903.

One of the Lyons children (Albert?) described the Lyons' house at Kawaihae in 1853. The family moved down to await passage on a vessel. Curtis Lyons, one of the sons, had gone down ahead to open the house for family occupancy. The Lyons family arrived on May 14, 1853, after riding in a cart pulled by five yoke of oxen, which took two men to drive.

Lyons' house had thick adobe walls which were plastered inside and out. The roof was thatched and was of hipped style. There were two windows (no glass, but there were shutters) and a door. In front was a level spot covered with pebbles. The adjacent beach was of black sand. A prevalent ground cover was "nohu" (Tribus cistoides), a prostrate hairy, beach perennial with spiny, dry fruits. There was a fireplace outside the house.

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<sup>60</sup>Lyons 1841, May.

<sup>61</sup>The Lyons houselot location is shown on the drawing which accompanied the application for L.C.A. 4103 by Kahunali'ole, Jan. 10, 1847. Native Register Vol. 8:3. Jackson's chart of 1883 (Kelly 1974:13) shows it as attached to L.C.A. 4522--obviously confused with L.C.A. 4106. By 1883, the site occupied by Lyons houselot was a fork in the road, which shows clearly on some modern tax key maps. The Jackson chart of 1883 and the McDonald 1891 chart are considered to be unreliable as far as features on land are concerned. McDonald appears to have copied, at least in part, from Jackson. The Jackson chart appears to have offset to the north the gulches and other features along the brow of the hill behind the beach.



Inside were boxes for chairs and woven sleeping mats. Curtis had spread fresh pili (grass) under them. When the Lyons' well water turned brackish, drinking water was secured from a hole in the rocks in a ravine about a half a mile away. "The water has green scum and it is where the natives wash their clothes," the son wrote. The ground at Kawaihae was so hot, according to the son, that his feet burned.<sup>62</sup>

No land commission award was sought for the Lyons Houselot. As part of L.C.A. 8515:1, the lot followed the same history as detailed in "Keoni Ana and L.C.A. 8515:1" above. The lot became part of Parcel E of the 1959 harbor project.

#### Fishpond at or near Pahukanilua

A combination of three, and perhaps four, references confirm that a fishpond existed at or near Pahukanilua from before 1819 and at least through 1848 (see Figs. 2 and 3). Makeahua gulch was its intermittent source of fresh water, perhaps assisted by a few brackish-water springs. Salt water, however, was its primary content, with access to the sea for fish controlled by a named Makahā, or sluice grate. This pond would have been of the Loko Wai type, and its principal products were probably mullet and milkfish.<sup>63</sup> The pond at or near Pahukanilua at Kawaihae would be a minor pond compared to those on the Kona coast. Its supply of harvestable fish was probably low and uncertain.

Duperrey charted the pond in 1819;<sup>64</sup> a pond in this location was indicated on the drawing submitted as part of the application

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<sup>62</sup>Lyons 1945:169-172.

<sup>63</sup>See Apple and Kikuchi 1975:7-64 for background on ancient Hawaiian fishponds and their products. The Loko Wai type is described on page 10.

<sup>64</sup>Duperrey 1819. The Duperrey chart shows a lake or pond in this location in 1819. His chart also shows John Young Homestead (upper portion) to be about 1,280 feet north of its known location. This is probably mislabeling by Duperrey, for he shows a house in about the proper location. See Healy 1959:51-54 for a discussion and reproduction of the chart; see Kelly 1974:12 for reproduction of an enlarged section, but without scale. The pond's location is supported by other data; the John Young Homestead location is refuted by other data.



for L.C.A. 4522 in 1848;<sup>65</sup> and a Kama'aina witness on boundary matters in 1876 gave the name of its makahā as Kahu'ai.<sup>66</sup> The fourth reference, 1853, is by the Lyons' son, with his mention of a salt water pond at the mouth of a dry ravine at Kawaihae. He could have meant the pond near the salt pans at Kauhuhu, or it could have been adjacent to the Lyons houselot.<sup>67</sup>

Adjacent Land Commission Awards  
(see Figs. 3 and 5)

Land Commission Awards clustered around the John Young Homestead (lower portion) were four. They were L.C.A.'s 3668:1 and 4101 in Kawaihae Komohana; and 4103 and 4106 in Kawaihae Hikina. John Young and/or Ka'oana'eha authorized occupancy of these houselots for the tenants who later applied for and received the awards and royal patents. Information in addition to that given here for these tenants and houselots is found in Appendix F.

The four houselots are linked by their juxtaposition, by their pre-1850 occupancy authorizations, by land awards all made the same day (July 22, 1851), and by their common history after 1935. For the 85 years between 1850 and 1935, the houselots had diverse histories.

L.C.A. 4101 was awarded to Kahananui. Royal Patent 6385 was granted on June 17, 1873. The certificate of title issued by the title abstractors indicates an unbroken chain of ownerships from Kahananui to the owner of the Parker Ranch, Annie T. K. Parker before 1912. No details of this chain could be found in the abstractors' files. The houselot is specifically listed among those lands entrusted to Annie Parker's trustee, Alfred W. Carter on August 25, 1912.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Application of Jan. 6, 1848 by Puna and Ka'oana'eha. Native Register Vol. 8:6.

<sup>66</sup>Wahinenui 1876:393.

<sup>67</sup>Lyons 1945:169.

<sup>68</sup>L.C.A. 4101--notes on abstract of title, Long and Melone 1978; certificate of Title to Richard Smart filed with Deed 15997, Land Office; Trust Deed, Annie Parker to A. W. Carter, Aug. 25, 1912, Book 365:273-279, Bureau of Conveyances.

L.C.A. 4103 was awarded to J. P. Kaahunali'ole, probably the government pilot for the port of Kawaihae. Royal Patent 4929 was granted on August 1, 1861. The title abstract does not indicate the link between Kaahunali'ole and Keokikepa, but on January 19, 1868, Keokikepa sold one half interest in the lot to Ashford Spencer. On November 14, 1868, Ashford Spender transferred his one half interest to Frances Tasmania Spencer, who on the same date acquired from Keokikepa the remaining half interest. Frances Tasmania Spencer, on October 31, 1876, transferred title to Francis MacFarlane Spencer, who, on March 20, 1913, transferred title of the house lot to the owner of the Parker Ranch through the owner's trustee.<sup>69</sup>

L.C.A. 4106 was awarded to Kau'i. Royal Patent 5098 was granted on September 19, 1862. It is unknown how the title passed to the owner of the Parker Ranch, but was probably included without specific mention in the "and all other property belonging to me" statement of December 20, 1879, when Annie T. K. Parker, gave power of attorney to A. Hartwell Carter. This means that either she or her immediate ancestors, who also owned the Parker Ranch, probably acquired it before 1879, without recording the deed.<sup>70</sup>

L.C.A. 3668:1 was awarded to David Manuia. Royal Patent 5514 was granted on February 6, 1885. Manuia left the house lot to his daughter, K. Laika Keliwaiwaiole, wife of M. Keliiaa. This was done through his will dated January 2, 1889. On record is a ten year lease, signed by Laika and her husband, starting October 15, 1896, to the then owner of the Parker Ranch, Samuel Parker. It is known that John Palmer Parker II, uncle of Samuel, was in occasional residence on the house lot in 1876, and called it "his" beach house. This was Hanakahi, the beach house lot of the Parker family. As remembered in 1978, Hanakahi held a large house of stone, (the 1876 boundary hearings were held in it), plus several, and perhaps three, wooden structures. There were many coconut trees and the lot was enclosed by a stone wall.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>L.C.A. 4103--notes on abstract of title, Long and Melone 1978; Certificate of Title to Richard Smart filed with Deed 15858, Land Office.

<sup>70</sup>L.C.A. 4106--notes on abstract of title, Long and Melone 1978; Certificate of Title to Richard Smart filed with Deed 15955, Land Office.

<sup>71</sup>Interviews, June 20, 1978, by Apple with Ralph King (Parker Ranch land office) and Sam Hook (Kawaihae kama'āina).

A widow by 1913, Laika transferred her title of L.C.A. 3668:1 (and of 3668:2) to John Vivichaves on December 23, 1913; and Vivichaves transferred it to the Henry Waterhouse Trust Co. Ltd., on February 7, 1918. One or more foreclosures of mortgages may have been involved. On March 29, 1935, the Waterhouse Trust Company transferred the houselot to the owner of the Parker Ranch, Annie T. K. Parker, through her trustee.<sup>72</sup>

Thus by 1935, ownership of the four houselots adjacent to the lower portion of the John Young Homestead was consolidated with title vested in Annie T. K. Parker. Beach land at Kawaihae was desired by the Parker Ranch, for Kawaihae was the nearest port. By 1959, the ranch, primarily through long-time activities of the Carter family (whose members in succession were trustees for the ranch owners) had acquired title to many of the land commission awards and later governmental grants of land along Kawaihae beach. Such ownerships supported shipments and passages to and from the inland cattle and sheep ranch. The port of Kawaihae gave the ranch access to markets and supplies.

When Annie T. K. Parker died, title to her lands passed to her son and heir, Richard Palmer Smart. Alfred Carter, Jr., the last trustee, ended the trusteeship on November 20, 1943, with the transfer of all assets to Richard Smart.

In 1959, the long anticipated Kawaihae harbor project was underway. Beach land was needed for the construction. The four houselots, together with other small tracts of land owned by Smart and others along Kawaihae beach, were named in condemnation proceedings started by the Territory of Hawai'i in 1958. Early in the proceedings, L.C.A.'s 4103, 4106, and 3668:1 were dropped from the condemnation suits, which left only L.C.A. 4101 to be condemned. Final order of condemnation in Civil cases 245 and 276, combined, awarded Richard Smart \$1,035 as just compensation for L.C.A. 4101.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>L.C.A. 3668:1--notes on abstract of title, Manuia probate was No. 2607, Feb. 8, 1889, Long and Melone 1978; Certificate of Title to Richard Smart filed with Deed 15956, Land Office.

<sup>73</sup>L.C.A. 4101--Deed 15997, Jan. 30, 1959, Land Office. L.C.A. 4101 was identified as Tax Map Key 6-01-02-36, was known as Parcel 1 of the land acquisition program for Kawaihae harbor, and became part of Parcel E of Governor's Executive Order 1988, Dec. 12, 1961, which dedicated the land for harbor purposes.



L.C.A.'s 4103, 4106, and 3668:1 were removed from the condemnation proceedings, along with other beach lots owned by Smart, to become involved in a complex land exchange program between Smart and the Territory of Hawai'i.

In 1910, the U. S. Congress limited the Territory of Hawai'i to land exchanges of under 40 acres in size; required approval of exchanges by two-thirds of the members of the Territorial board of public lands; and required that exchanges could only be made for direct public use.<sup>74</sup> In the 1959 Kawaihae case, the Territory broke up the land exchanges with Smart into packages of under 40 acres each. The other requirements were also met. Some of the exchanges involved Smart-Territorial land only in the Waimea vicinity, and some involved exchanges of Smart-owned lots along Kawaihae beach for Territorial land at or near Waimea, the Parker Ranch headquarters.

L.C.A. 4103 was part of Smart's land holdings at Kawaihae which were exchanged for Territorial lots in the Kamuela Village at Waimea.<sup>75</sup> L.C.A. 4106 was part of Smart's land holdings at Kawaihae which were exchanged for Territorial lands at Pu'ukapu, Lā'āmilō and Waimea.<sup>76</sup> L.C.A. 3668:1 was part of Smart's land holdings at Kawaihae exchanged for Territorial land at Kalua'ana, Waimea.<sup>77</sup> In 1978, L.C.A.'s 4101, 4106, and 3668:1 are buried under a fill of dredged coral and/or under State Highway 26; and 4103 is in great part uncovered land, but heavily vegetated with non-native shrubs and trees. A portion of the new trail (1977) between Pelekane and the upper portion of the John young Homestead crosses L.C.A. 4103.

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<sup>74</sup>Horwitz 1964:21. See also Apple 1954:62, 79, and Horwitz 1964 for additional information on land exchanges.

<sup>75</sup>L.C.A. 4103--Deed 15858, April 16, 1959, Land Office. L.C.A. 4103 was identified as Tax Map Key 6-02-01-20, was known as Parcel 20 of the land acquisition program for Kawaihae harbor, and became part of Parcel E of Governor's Executive Order 1988.

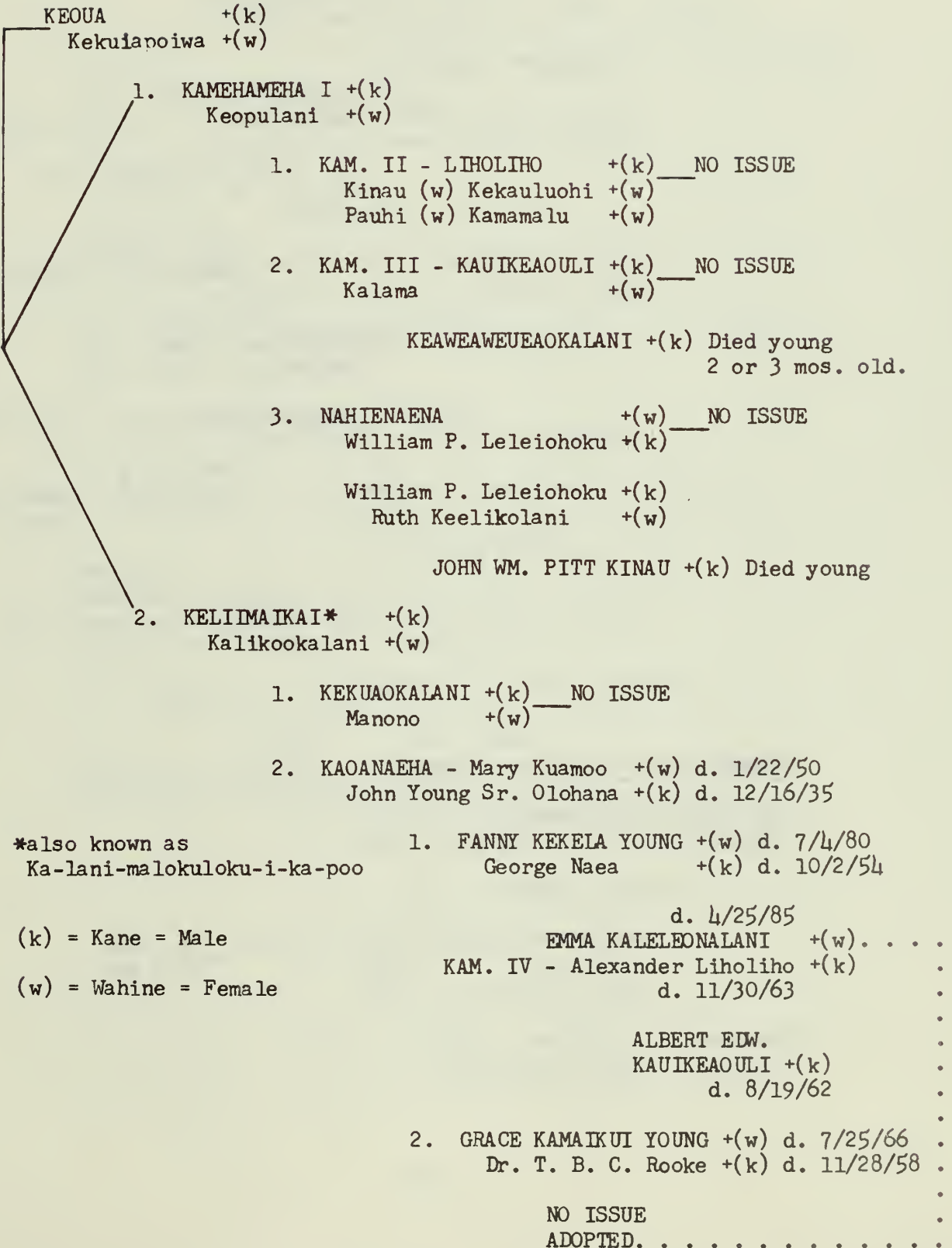
<sup>76</sup>L.C.A. 4106--Deed 15955, July 2, 1959, Land Office. L.C.A. 4106 was identified as Tax Map Key 6-02-01-22, was known as Parcel 18 of the land acquisition program for Kawaihae harbor, and became part of Parcel E of Governor's Executive Order 1988.

<sup>77</sup>L.C.A. 3668:1--Deed 15956, July 2, 1959, Land Office. L.C.A. 3668:1 was identified as Tax Map Key 6-01-01-37, was known as Parcel 2 of the land acquisition program for Kawaihae harbor, and became part of Parcel E of Governor's Executive Order 1988.



# APPENDIX A

## YOUNG FAMILY GENEALOGY



3. KEONI ANA-J. YOUNG JR. +(k) d. 7/18/57  
Alapai +(w) d. 8/2/49

NO ISSUE

ADOPTED. . . . .

4. JANE LAHILAHY YOUNG +(w)  
Joshua Kaeo +(k) d. 6/27/58

1. PETER YOUNG KAE0 +(k). . . . .  
d. 12/26/80

Died unmarried

Adopted by: Keoni Ana

d. 1/12/62

JANE LAHILAHY YOUNG +(w)  
Kauikesouli & Kaeo +(k)

2. KELIMAI KAI +(k) d. 10/15/51. . .

Twins  
Died Young  
Adopted by: James Young  
Kanehoa

3. ALBERT K. KUNUIAKEA +(k)  
Mary Lonokahikini +(w)  
d. 4/6/04

NO ISSUE

Geneology of .... JOHN YOUNG SR. .... alias .... OLOHANA

JOHN YOUNG SR. OLOHANA +(k)  
Namokuelua +(w)

1. ROBERT YOUNG

2. JAMES YOUNG KANEHOA +(k) d. 10/1/51 NO ISSUE  
Sarah Davis +(w) ADOPTED. . . . .  
Hikoni (Kahale) +(w)

JOHN YOUNG SR. OLOHANA +(k)  
Kaoanaeha - Mary Kuamoo +(w)

1. FANNY KEKELA YOUNG +(w) d. 7/4/80  
George Naea +(k) d. 10/2/54  
  
EMMA KALELEONALANI +(w) d. 4/25/85. . . . .  
Alexander Liholiho +(k) d. 11/30/63 .  
  
ALBERT EDW. KAUIKEAOULI +(k) d. 8/19/62 .  
  
2. GRACE KAMAIKUI YOUNG +(w) d. 7/25/66 .  
Dr. T. B. C. Rooke +(k) d. 11/28/58 .  
  
NO ISSUE .  
ADOPTED . . . . .  
  
3. KEONI ANA-J. YOUNG JR. +(k) d. 7/18/57  
Alapai +(w) d. 8/2/49  
  
NO ISSUE  
ADOPTED . . . . .  
  
4. JANE LAHILAHY YOUNG +(w) .  
Joshua Kaeo +(k) d. 6/27/58 .  
  
1. PETER YOUNG KAE0 +(k) d. 12/26/80 . . . . .  
  
Died unmarried  
Adopted by: Keoni Ana  
  
JANE LAHILAHY YOUNG +(w) d. 1/12/62  
Kauikeaouli & Kaeo +(k)  
  
2. KELIIMAKAI +(k) d. 10/15/51  
Twins Died young  
Adopted by: James Young Kanehoa  
  
3. ALBERT K. KUNULAKEA +(k) d. 3/10/03  
Mary Lonokahikini +(w) d. 4/6/04  
  
NO ISSUE

## APPENDIX B

### The Great Mahele

During the 41 days of the Great Mahele, King Kamehameha III signed his royal name 251 times.

Each royal signature confirmed a mahele, a division, an apportionment of his land between himself and each of 251 chiefs and chiefesses.

During those 41 days, each of the 251 ali'i signed once.

Lands, identified by placename only in each of the 251 divisions, on the left hand page of the Mahele Book stayed with the king: lands (again identified by placename only) on the right hand page went to the chief or chiefess who signed.

This was the Great Mahele, no more, no less.

Historians today often lump into the term "Great Mahele" all the land acts of the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1845 through 1862. If you lived back in 1848, the Great Mahele meant only the land acts King Kamehameha III signed from January 27 through March 7, 1848, a leap year--a period of 41 days.

Quitclaim was the legal device of the Great Mahele.

Great Mahele land transactions signify the quitclaim by the King of his ancient, legal interests in the lands traditionally managed by the families of 251 chiefs and chiefesses. These ali'i quitclaimed any interests their families had in the King's lands.

These 251 chiefs and chiefesses had acquired from long family occupancy and managership an association with certain tracts of land. These high-born families managed these scattered lands since at least from the time of Kamehameha the Great in the early 1800's.

Some chiefly families had been managing the same tracts of lands for ruling chiefs and kings for many generations.

Chiefly families managed lands named in the Great Mahele in 1848 for King Kamehameha III, who owned all the land from Ni'ihau to Hawai'i Islands. Kamehameha the Great had acquired it all, his son Kamehameha II had inherited it, and by 1848, another son, Kamehameha III owned it in fee simple, to use a Western land term.



Hawai'i's Great Mahele gave perhaps a third of all the land in the islands--scattered as large tracts from Kaua'i to the Big Island--to 251 chiefs and chiefesses, many of them interrelated. This third of the land is the basis of most of the private land owned in the islands today.

As of the close of business on March 7, 1848, King Kamehameha III still owned the other two thirds of the land in the islands.

On March 8, 1848, the day after the Great Mahele's 41-day period was over, the King gave more than half of his remaining land to the government of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. He kept the rest for the crown. Income from the government land was to be used to support the government, and income from the crown land was to support the throne.

Land transactions of March 8, 1848, were not part of the Great Mahele. They were not entered in the Mahele Book. Another book was used.

Great Mahele signatures, all 502 of them, mark the beginning of legal steps which resulted in private ownership of land in Hawai'i.

Contrary to popular belief, the Great Mahele itself gave no title of land to any chief or chiefess. Title stayed with the King until each ali'i followed through on other legal steps.

Each chief and chiefess who signed the Mahele Book had to take his claim before the Land Commission and receive an award of the land the King had quitclaimed to him.

Awards were usually not free. Kamehameha III and his privy council did wave commutation for a few of the chiefly families with members who had served in top leadership positions with Kamehameha the Great during his wars of island conquest (such as for the Young family), and who had been rewarded with permanent land gifts by Kamehameha the Great himself.

But the rest of the chiefs and chiefesses had to pay commutation in cash or surrender to the government land worth the cash value. Some chiefs, in cases of boundary disputes, also had to pay for boundary surveys before the land award was made.

Decades passed before all claims were settled.

Each land named in the Great Mahele held boundaries established in ancient times and known by all residents. Surveying and boundary disputes came later.

In 1848, however, calling a piece of land by its ancient place-name was all that was necessary for the Hawaiian subjects of His Hawaiian Majesty to know exactly what land was meant.

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## APPENDIX C

### Land Commission Awards

Scattered over Hawai'i's tax maps are more than 12,000 odd-shaped boxes, each bearing the initials L.C.A. and a number.

L.C.A. stands for Land Commission Award. The number is usually the same as the earlier number assigned to the claim. To avoid confusion, confirmed awards carried their claim numbers. Claims led to awards.

Each box--they come in various sizes and shapes--represents a piece of land awarded to a tenant--a native Hawaiian, or to a naturalized foreigner, a non-Hawaiian born in the islands, or to a long-term resident foreigner called a denizen.

Native Hawaiians were the vast majority of awardees.

Land Commission is the short and familiar term of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, established by the act of the legislature of the Kingdom of Hawai'i of December 10, 1845.

King Kamehameha III appointed Attorney General John Ricord to be chairman, and appointed William Richard, Zorobabela Ka'auwai, James Young Kanehoa and John Papa I'i as members of the five-man board. Over the years as members died or resigned, the King appointed William L. Lee, N. Namaui, J. Kekaulahau, S. M. Kamakau, G. M. Robertson and Joseph H. Smith, who was the long-time secretary.

Hawaiian history buffs will recognize I'i and Kamakau as published native historians. I'i is the only member who served during the entire life of the land commission.

Hawai'i's land commission was formed in 1846 and was dissolved in 1855.

Of the almost 12,000 claims, each was heard in a formal hearing, investigated, deliberated on separately and either awarded or denied. Mistakes made were few.

Claimants did not have to come to Honolulu, for the board held repeated hearings on all islands.

Briefly, the establishment act permitted the land commission to check into claims of private individuals for lands they were authorized to occupy before the 1845 act was passed, and to make

an award if the majority of commissioners thought the claim was right.

No aliens could apply.

If the Hawaiian term kuleana comes to mind as applied to an L.C.A., you are correct. Kuleana originally meant a right, a title to property, and responsibility. By 1850, in the middle of the land commission's operations, it came to refer to a land holding by a tenant residing within a larger tract owned by another. Today it means a tract of land within a larger tract.

Land commission awards should not be confused with the immense tracts of lands given by the king in 1848 during the Great Mahele to 51 chiefs and chiefesses, retained by the king during the Great Mahele, or given to the government by the king after the Great Mahele. Tenants were in residence on all of these lands. L.C.A.'s were made to tenants on lands regardless of the larger tracts' ownership before and after the Great Mahele.

Land commissioners worked with two types of claims--those supported by a document, and those before June 7, 1839, which were based on a verbal assignment of land by a king or chief in decades past.

Many of the tenant-claimants had been given, or assigned, land by Kamehameha the Great, Kamehameha II or Kamehameha III. In some cases the tenants had been assigned land by an authorized agent of one of these kings.

Witnesses were usually produced to testify to the assignment, and also to the continuous use of the land by the claimant, or his heirs, up to the time of the claim.

Land not being used for gardening, a business, or for a permanent home was not awarded. Claimants also had to pay for and provide a metes and bounds survey.

With an L.C.A., a claimant could obtain a Royal Patent (it carried a different number) upon payment to the Kingdom's treasury of a cash commutation, usually equal to a third of the land's value.

But even without the Royal Patent, awardees were not kicked off their land. Royal patents, however, were firmer legally.

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## APPENDIX D

### Homestead: Historical References

(1) 9 March 1793

"The Englishmen /Young and Davis/, too, who had accompanied us thither /Kawaihae Bay/ on purpose to make presents of hogs and vegetables to both commanders, from their plantations, which lay near this part of the island, . . ."

Menzies 1920, p. 101

(2) 1795

"I had seen Olohana living there at the time of the battle of Nuuanu."

Naniu 1848  
(sworn testimony at  
Kawaihae on application  
for Land Commission Award  
4522, see Fig. 3. Battle  
of Nu'uuanu fought on O'ahu  
Island in 1795).

(3) August-December 1798

/coral blocks brought by canoe from reef at Puako.  
Coral blocks were burnt. Mortar and plaster were made  
from sand, burnt coral and mixed with poi and hair./

abstracted from Young  
Diary 1798-1799

(4)

"Have begun four buildings. My house the cook house and storage room the house for the children and tahu  
/guardians/ and near the small temple /Mailekini:  
probably at Pelekane/ a house for storage. My house  
at the small rise below the great temple /Pu'ukohola/  
more suitable than the ravine which washes away with the  
Whymea floods /reference to Makeahua gulch?/ The great  
one /Kamehameha/ comes to use my cook house several times.  
I make biskits and cook a lamb Have all enjoyed feast"

Young Diary 1798-1799

(5) March 1799

"I finish plastering all houses and have whitewashed the fences around the animal pens. It is as in Wales."

Young Diary 1798-1799

(6) September 1799

Young repaired leaking roof with small sticks and pili  
Note: Pili is a term for thatching grass.

abstracted from Young  
Diary 1798-1799

(7) 25 June 1807

"On the 25th we got off Toeigh in sight of Mr. Young's habitation . . . we soon went to Mr. Young's habitation, where he entertained us very hospitably during most of the night . . . Mr. Young occupies several stone buildings, which are the best (save those of the King, built on the same plan but now shut) I have seen in this island."

Iselin, n.d., p. 72

(8) 16 August 1809

"Employd Building a Cooke house"

Young Log Book

(9) 1816 or 1817

"From out at sea, we could see the European built houses of John Young towering above the grass shacks of the natives."

Chamisso 1939, p. 55

(10) April 1817 (?)

"the carpntr Employd Making a Malow" [probably a malu, a shade or shelter: perhaps a lanai was built on, around, or attached to, one of the houses of the homestead]

Young Log Book

(11) 22 November 1817

"We now saw Young's settlement of several houses built of white stone, after the European fashion, surrounded by palm and banana trees; the land has a barren appearance, . . ."

Kotzebue 1821, pp. 295-296

(12) 1819

"The house of Mr. Young is unquestionably the most considerable or rather the only passable one at Toyai. It is situated on an eminence, whence the prospect extends to a great distance over the sea, and towards the interior of the island."

(13)

". . . on the hill opposite to that on which the house of Mr. Young is built /is Pu'ukohola/

Arago 1823: v.II, pp. 100-101

(14) 1819

/Young/ "possesses several stone houses and considerable land, on Hawaii as well as on the other islands."

Freycinet, 1829, p. 28

(15) 12 August 1819

"The house of this interesting old man, was located at the top of a small hill which overlooks the village of Kawaihae, built of stone, well ventilated and sanitary."

Freycinet, 1829, p.28

(16) 1822

"Turning a point of land also, they saw Young's settlement of several houses, built of white stone, after the European fashion." /copied from Kotzebue, 1821, pp. 295-296?/

"Voyage" 1824, p. 68

(17) 1928

"Here we were entertained by old John Young, . . .  
He lived in a dirty adobe house, adorned with old rusty  
muskets, swords, bayonets, and cartridge boxes. . . .  
We were sent up a rickety flight of stairs to sleep. . . .  
I was afraid of the wind, . . . got up at midnight, went  
down to the grass house of Mrs. Young, which was neat  
and comfortable.

L. Judd 1928, p. 36

(18) 6 January 1848

"These are Ka-oa-na-eha's words: This is our old lot  
at Kawaihae and our old houses were mine and my Kane's,  
John Young, deceased."

Ioba Puna 1848  
(sworn testimony at Kawaihae,  
on application for Land  
Commission Award 4522,  
see Fig. 3)

(19) 11 September 1848

Placename is Pahukanilua. The place is for Ka'oana'eha  
and Olohana. Olohana got it from Kamehameha I.  
"Is koananaa here" "Five houses and plants are there  
which belong to Ka-oa-na-eha and Puna at this time."  
(Describes adjacent places).

Keleikaheaaawa 1848  
(Sworn testimony at Kawaihae,  
on application for Land  
Commission Award 4522, see  
Fig. 3. Koapapaa implies  
warrior's land, awarded for  
battlefield service)

(20) 11 September 1848

Confirms testimony given by Keliekaheaaawa. Places Olohana  
(John Young) in residence on lower portion of homestead  
by 1795.

Naniu 1848  
(sworn testimony as above)



(21) 15 November 1873

"Makahuna Gulch is the boundary at seashore between Kawaihae 1st and Kawaihae 2nd it lays between John Young's old house and John Parker's house and is on the Kona side /see Fig. 1B/ of the latter"

Kaluakukela 1873  
(sworn testimony at Court  
House at Waimea, Kohala  
District. Island of Hawai'i)

(22) 20 January 1876

"Place called Pohakuloa is on Kawaihae Hikina near boundary. Palama is the ili aina next to Pohakuloa, and is on Kawaihae Akau /northern Kawaihae, also called Kawaihae Komohana and Kawaihae 1/. They lay side by side to the seashore. The place where we now are /Hanakahi, see Fig. 3/ is on Pulama, and Pohakuloa is east of us, where Olohana's (John Young) house used to stand."

Kemoehau 1876  
(sworn testimony at John P.  
Parker's house, Hanakahi,  
Kawaihae)

(23) 24 January 1876

" . . . Kini Keoke and Kauwe /Kaue/. They told me . . . that the gulch between my house at the shore, and John Young's old house was the boundary. The gulch is on the Kona side of my house."

John P. Parker 1876  
(sworn testimony at  
Pu'u'ōpelu, Waimea, Kohala)

(24)

"This is the gulch Mr. Parker spoke of . . . . I have heard since from Hūeū /George Davis, son of Isacc Davis/. that the boundary at shore between these two lands /Kawaihae 1 and 2/ was at Kapalala a point of rocks. It is now covered with sand. It is between Mr. Parker's

house, and where John Young's house used to stand, and  
thence the boundary runs mauka up gulch . . ."

Wahinenui 1876  
(sworn testimony at  
Pu'u'ōpelu, Waimea, Kohala).

## APPENDIX E

### Placenames of Homestead Gulches

Hawaiians named taro patches, rocks and trees that represented deities and ancestors, sites of houses and heiau (places of worship), canoe landings, fishing stations in the sea, resting places in the forests, and the tiniest spots where miraculous or interesting events are believed to have taken place.

Pukui, Elbert, Mookini 1974, p. x

They also named gulches. Unlike most Hawaiian placenames, names of the gulches on either side of the John Young Homestead, upper and lower portions, have experienced in historic times a switching of placenames, a new name, and like most Hawaiian placenames, spelling variations. Some of these variations can be explained by careless permanship, perhaps, or by recorders' ears not familiar with the local placenames.

<u>Northern Gulch</u> (Kohala side, #2 on Fig. 2).	<u>Southern Gulch</u> (Kona side, #3 on Fig. 2).	<u>Date:</u>	<u>Source</u>
Pokiahua	Makahuna	1848:	Keleikaheeaawa 1848. (Kama'āina)
	Makahuna	1848:	Naniu 1848. (Kama'āina)
Pakiahua		1848:	Puna 1848. (Kama'āina)
Makahuna		1873:	Kalualukela 1873. (Kama'āina)
Makahuna (or)?	Makahuna	1873:	Kiainiu 1873. (Kama'āina)
Makahuna (or)?	Makahuna	1876:	Kaneahiki 1876. (wife of Konohiki)
Pokiahua		1876:	Kamoeahu 1876. (Kama'āina)
Pokiahua		1876:	Wahinenui 1876. (Kama'āina)

Northern Gulch  
(Kohala side, #2  
on Fig. 2).

Southern Gulch  
(Kona side, #3  
on Fig. 2).

Date: Source

Pohiiahua

Makahuna

1883: Jackson chart 1883.

Pohiiahua

Makahuna

1885: McDonald chart 1891

Makahuna

Pokiiohua

1903: Loebenstein map  
1903; Testimony

Makahuna

1903: Nawahi\_1903.  
(Kama'aina)

Makahuna

1903: Akahi 1903.  
(Kama'aina)

Makahuna

1903: Kanakanui 1903.  
(Kama'aina)

Makahuna

1903: Lyman 1903.  
(legal decision)

Makahuna

Makeahua

1956: USGS Kawaihae quad.

Makahuna

Makeahua

1957: CSF #13277-13279,  
State Survey  
Division

Makahuna

Makeahua

1956+: tax and other  
maps and surveys

Pokiahua

Makahuna

1968: Akau 1968.  
(Kama'aina)

Pokiahua

Makahuna

1978: Akau 1978.  
(Kama'aina)

It is interesting to note that Kawaihae kama'aina Solomon Akau, in on-site interviews in 1968 and 1978, gave the same names to the gulches as did the residents in 1848. This was in spite of the "official" names, to which he objected.

The people of old who lived and worked at Kawaihae knew the local placenames intimately, applied them accurately, and made frequent daily use of them. It is believed that the correct and ancient



name of the northern gulch was Poki'ahua, or more likely Poki'i'ahua; and of the southern gulch Makahuna. This is based on the testimony of the residents of 1848, who in applying for land commission awards, described the boundaries of their house-lots by references to the gulches. In this monograph, the modern names of the gulches have been used, since these names are found on most maps in use today.

In identifying themselves in sworn testimony before land and boundary commissioners in 1848, 1873, 1874, 1876, and 1903, witnesses frequently described themselves as "kama'āina" to Kawaihae. This means that they were born and raised either at Kawaihae or on an adjacent ahupua'a. Today the term kama'āina had broadened in meaning to include anyone born in the Hawaiian Islands. A kama'āina witness in historic times had the status of an expert when he testified as to matters, placenames, and boundaries of his home locality. It is not known why the testimony of kama'āina witnesses changed, over time, as to gulch names.

## APPENDIX F

### Kawaihae Miscellanea

"Noho like ma na Kawaihae alua"

(The two Kawaihaes lived in unity, had equal rights)

Kaneahiku 1876, pg. 390

"Olohana and Kalaimoku were noho like, . . ."

(Kalanimoku  $\frac{1}{2}$  "owner" of Kawaihae  $\frac{1}{2}$  and Olohana  $\frac{1}{2}$  "owner" of Kawaihae  $\frac{2}{2}$  shared equally, had equal rights)

Kamoeahu 1876, pg. 391

### Ancient Fishing Rights

List of Lands in Kohala, Hawaii, with the Konohiki Fisheries

Kawaihae--crown

Kawaihae--Keoni Ana

Interior Department Letter  
Book 15, pp. 115-116, n.d.  
 $\frac{1}{2}$ ca. 1848

$\frac{1}{2}$ Kawaihae  $\frac{1}{2}$  "extended out to sea"

Kalualukela 1873, pg. 73

$\frac{1}{2}$ Kawaihae  $\frac{2}{2}$  "extended out to sea"

Kalualukela 1873, pg. 147

Sea from Pokiiahua to Kauhuhu, belonged to Kawaihae 1

Sea on Kona side of Pokiiahua, belonged to Kawaihae 2

Kamoeahu 1876, pg. 391

"When we came from the other side Kawaihae on to this place to fish, we had to give part of our fish to Olohana."

Kaneahiku 1876, pg. 390

"We used to divide the fish and give part to Olohana. Olohana and Kalaimoku were noho like, so they used to give him part of the fish."

Kamoeheu 1876, pg. 391

". . . fishing rights belonged to the King's Kawaihae."

Parker 1876, pg. 392

When we used to catch fish--Olohana's man used to take part and the Konohiki of Kawaihae 1 a part . . . always heard fishing rights belonged to Kawaihae 1.

Wahinenui 1876, pgs. 612-613

Note: fishing or riparian rights were not included for Kawaihae 2 in the boundary decision of 1903.

Lyman 1903, pgs. 612-613

#### Sources of Boundary Knowledge

When my father and uncle "were growing old [they] showed me the boundaries as was the custom in olden times."

Kalualukela 1873, pg. 73

I heard of the mauka boundaries from old people, but never shown them. I knew the makai boundaries.

Kiainiu 1873, pg. 75

My parents pointed out the boundaries. "My parents told me the makai boundaries but showed me the mauka ones . . . I cannot say for certain that I can give makai boundaries correctly as I have never been there with my parents . . . I was not full grown when I went with my parents."

Kalualukela 1873, pgs. 147-149

Mahi, the konohiki, told people the boundaries

Kaneahiku 1876, pg. 390

"My parents told me the boundaries."

Kamoeahu 1876, pg. 391

My parents never told me the boundaries.

Kahihinu 1876, pg. 392

Told boundaries by Hueu /dead/, Kini Keoke /dead/ and Kauwe /still alive but not called as witness/.

Parker 1876, pg. 392

"The boundaries . . . have been pointed out to me /by named kama'aina in 1843 in connection with an 1843 boundary dispute/."

Wahinenui 1876, pg. 392

Parents told "us" the boundaries . . .

Akahi 1903, pg. 606



## Boundary Disputes

The disputes concerned the boundary between Kawaihae 1 and Kawaihae 2; apparently began about 1843; and were finally settled by a decision from Frederick L. Lyman, commissioner of boundaries for the third and fourth circuit, Territory of Hawaii, in 1903. Formal hearings were held on the matter in 1873, 1874, 1876, and 1903, some at Kawaihae and some at other places in the district of Kohala.

The following synthesis of the boundary dispute matter is made from sworn testimonies at the hearings. The most important source was that of Wahimenui in 1876, with collaboration by Kamoehau and Kaneahiku (old and confused as she was), also in 1876. The synthesis explains references made by witnesses Kiainiu and Kalualukela in 1873 to a boundary at Kauhuhu gulch.

The disputed territory lay in 1873, 1874, and 1876 between Makahuna gulch (see Fig. 2) and Kauhuhu gulch, a gulch which is located in present Kawaihae village on the north side of where the elementary school building, now abandoned for school purposes, stands. Kawaihae's numerous salt pans were just to the south of Kauhuhu gulch, and thus were included with the land in dispute. By the 1903 hearings, Makahuna gulch at the beach had been accepted by all witnesses as the boundary at the coast, although part of the dispute then was which branch of Makahuna gulch the boundary followed inland. A north branch boundary favored The Queen's Hospital, owners of Kawaihae 2; a south branch boundary favored the Territory of Hawaii, which had acquired the former crown land of Kawaihae 1. The decision, made by a Territorial boundary commissioner, favored the government. The major part of the 1903 boundary dispute was over boundaries well inland, and is not germane to beach matters.

At the beach, the pre-1790 (pre-Young) boundary was Makahuna gulch. Thus when Young was assigned Kawaihae 2 by Kamehameha, the boundary between Kawaihae 2 and Kawaihae 1 (assigned to Kalaimoku) was Makahuna gulch. The functional Hawaiian name for Makahuna gulch was Kapili kahawai, which translated means the stream to which two boundaries cling.

Sometime during Young's tenure at Kawaihae, probably in the period before Kamehameha's death in 1819, one of Young's staff chiefs was killed on Kawaihae 1. The murdered man was named Kapela. The killing was done at Ailihoa, a place on the beach described as being seaward of the 1859 Keola Hou Congregational Church building.

The murder is attributed to either Kawailepolepo himself, or to his children. Kawailepolepo appears to have been a staff chief of Kalaimoku. The cause of the affair which resulted in Kapela's death is not given.

To compensate Young for the murder of Kapela, Kalaimoku gave Young the land between Makahuna and Kauhuhu gulches. This then placed the functional boundary of Kawaihae 2 at Kauhuhu gulch. At the very least, it added the 'ili of Pulama (see Fig. 3), and perhaps some adjacent 'ili of Kawaihae 1 to land controlled by Young. How long actual control of this land, its tenants and resources (including fishing offshore) by Young and his heirs lasted is not known.

Young died in 1835. By 1843, a local dispute at Kawaihae over the beach land between Makahuna and Kauhuhu gulches and jurisdiction over it brought the Kapela affair, and the resulting land assignment, to the attention of those who testified later on boundary matters. Ka-oa-na-eha and Puna, of Kawaihae 2, assigned land in this section to tenants as late as 1847; L.C.A. 10232 (never awarded) in 1841, and L.C.A. 3668:1 and 2 in 1847 (see "Occupancy Authorizations" below).

#### Salt Pans and 'ili 'āina of Kawaihae 2

"The folks living mauka on Kawaihae 2nd used to go after salt at the shore to the salt works near Kauhuhu."

Kamoe hau 1876, pg. 391

" . . . the places for making salt belonged to both lands. The pohopaakai have the same names as the ili aina to which they belong, on both Kawaihae." [poho pa'akai = depression where salt was evaporated from sea water, i.e. salt pan]

Wahinenui 1876, pg. 393

Kamoe hau (1876, pgs. 391-392) listed some of the 'ili 'āina of Kawaihae 2, and indicated which had salt pans of the same name near Kauhuhu in Kawaihae 1. The asterisk indicates those with salt pans. This assignment of salt pans to 'ili of Kawaihae 2 probably dates from the murder of Kapela, discussed above.

Pohakuloa\*  
Kaholei\*  
Piipepii\*  
Nupaa\*  
Kaneloa\*  
Malahuehue\*  
Makela  
Kuhui  
Kapahukapu

Occupancy Authorizations of Land Commission Awards, Kawaihae Bay  
(see Appendix C and Fig. 5).

In the knowledge that Land Commission Awards of houselots, garden plots, and other small utilized pieces of land indicate that occupancy was authorized before ca. 1845, the authorizations were checked for the Kawaihae Bay L.C.A.'s. The linear stretch of beach from the northern end, from where the later Kawaihae wharf stood, to the southern end at Pelekane, was divided into three sections. They were

Wharf site to Kauhuhu Gulch  
Kauhuhu Gulch to Makahuna Gulch  
Makahuna Gulch to Pelekane.

Geopolitically, the stretch from the wharf site to Kauhuhu Gulch has always been a part of Kawaihae 1; the stretch between the gulches, as indicated under "Boundary Disputes" above, had management for a period of decades under Kawaihae 2 while traditionally being a part of Kawaihae 1 (and to which ahupua'a it was again affixed legally in 1903); and the stretch from Makahuna Gulch to Pelekane has always been a part of Kawaihae 2.

L.C.A.'s on both terminal beach sections indicated authorizations to tenants from authorities of their respective ahupua'a; while the middle stretch indicated authorities from both ahupua'a. This situation confirms changing jurisdictions over the stretch between Kauhuhu and Makahuna gulches. Changing jurisdictions explains why two awards (3668 and 4101, Figs. 3 and 5), clearly in Kawaihae 1 on modern maps, had original authorizations of occupancy from Kawaihae 2 authorities. Some weakening of Kawaihae 2 jurisdiction over the inter-gulch shoreline can be inferred from the 1843 boundary dispute; and seen in the Land Commission's denial of L.C.A. applications 10232 and 10903/10904 (see below) in 1848. Both of these claims involved salt pans in



the area seaward of the modern Kawaihae elementary school lot. Both also involved claimants (Puna and Mamuia) with strong Kawaihae 2 connections. Manuia, however, was awarded another salt pan lot--L.C.A. 3668:2.

The awards listed below should not be considered to represent the total population of Kawaihae Bay in 1848. They probably represent the local elite, those who could afford the survey and commutation, had proper authority for permanent occupancy, had reputable witnesses to sustain both the authority and continuous use, and who chose to apply. The Rev. Lorenzo Lyons, Congregational minister who headquartered at Waimea, had an active church and school at Kawaihae in 1848, and built a new, larger church at Kawaihae in 1859. Such church and school activities would not have been warranted by just the population of the L.C.A. lots. Lyons listed his Kawaihae congregation in 1834 as varying between 100 to 500. No population figures for ca. 1848 have been located.

The ahupua'a of Kawaihae 1, under the title of Kawaihae Komohana, was retained by Kamehameha III as crown land. Kuakini, as governor of the Island of Hawai'i, apparently had authority to authorize permanent occupancy of small lots on Kawaihae 1, i.e. L.C.A. 4884 on undisputed crown land and also on the inter-gulch region, i.e. L.C.A. 9971. From their testimonies, it is inferred that Naniu was a "retired" konohiki, and Kekuawahine his successor on the crown land of Kawaihae 1. Through delegated authority, a konohiki assigned lots.

The ahupua'a of Kawaihae 2, under the title of Kawaihae Hikina, was assigned by Kamehameha III in the Great Mahele to his premier, Keoni Ana (John Young II), son of John Young. Keoni Ana, as an heir of the man who had helped Kamehameha the Great found his kingdom, did not have to pay commutation for his Great Mahele lands. Young received L.C.A. 8515:1 for the ahupua'a of Kawaihae 2, and Royal Patent 1666:1. Ka'oana'eha, Keoni Ana's mother and a high chiefess, appears to have been an on-site assigner of lots for permanent occupancy on Kawaihae 2 and in the inter-gulch area. Keliiehaawa appears to be a "retired" Kawaihae 2 konohiki, and Puna to be his successor.

It is noted that Naniu, Kekuawahine and Keleikaheawa were not among the applicants or awardees. If not konohiki, they certainly were respected elders and men of authority. They apparently felt secure in possession of their homes, perhaps as resident agents or



highly favored retainers of the crown and the kingdom's premier. Why Ka 'oana'eha and Puna felt it necessary to apply for L.C.A. 4522 is not known. Puna was the active agent. Why no patent was sought is another mystery.

Wharf to Kauhuhu

L.C.A. 4094, Royal Patent 5233 to Kepaimaka

Authority was Kekuwahine; occupied before time of Kamehameha I; witnesses were Naniu and Kekuwahine.

Houselot with one house, not enclosed by wall.

Occupied "From Kalaiopuu /Kalanipu'u?/ and before that, and from Kamehameha I to this day." Kepaimaka, Native Register, Vol. 8, pg. 5.

L.C.A. 4884, Royal Patent 4929 to Wm. French /merchant/

Authority was Kuakini; occupied in 1838; witnesses were Samuel Rice and G. Munn.

Structures for storage and dwellings, enclosed by stone wall.

Kuakini told Samuel Rice: French asked for land; Kuakini agreed, if French built pier for canoes; French did. Native Testimony, Vol. 2, pg. 493.

L.C.A. 3669, Royal Patent 5240 to Makahi

Authority was Kekuwahine; occupied in 1841; witness was Kekuwahine.

Houselot with two houses, enclosed by stone wall.

"I gave it to him in 1841." Kekuwahine, Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 1.

Kauhuhu to Makahuna

L.C.A. 4091:1,2, Royal Patent 5217 to Kaue

Authority was Kamehameha I; occupied from time of Kamehameha I; witnesses were Naniu and Paimaka.

Area was called Kahapa'akai [salt place].

4091:1--Houselot with three houses, including one for government; probably enclosed with stone fence.

4091:2--Three salt beds, no fence.

"I got this houselot from Kamehameha I." Kaue, Native Register, Vol. 8, pg. 3.

L.C.A. 3826, Royal Patent 5264, to Punihahiha

Authority was Kamehameha I; occupied before time of Kamehameha I; witnesses were Naniu and Paimaka.

Area was called Kahapa'akai. Portion enclosed with stone wall contained two houses; wall was new. Salt beds were adjacent but apparently outside new wall.

Paimaka and Kawai were neighbors to north. Punihahiha's grandfather was Kahapana, who had lot before time of Kamehameha I; Punihahiha's father was Mii, who died in time of Kamehameha I. Government objected to award. Objection not sustained by land commission. Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 5.

(10232), applicant was David Manuia (alias Muia, also Monrisa). (10903/10904), applicants were David Manuia and Puna.

10232: Authority was Ka'oana'eha in 1841 and Naniu in 1846; occupied in 1841; witnesses were Puna and Naniu.

10903/10904: Authority not established. ". . . was conveyed to Kalaimoku during time of Kamehameha II and living has been there to this day. It is now for the ahupuaa of Kawaihae." Naniu, Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 7.

Neither claim awarded. Both included salt pans.

L.C.A. 9971, Royal Patent 6692 to W.P. Lele-io-hoku

Authority was Kuakini; occupied in 1844; a land commission decision in settlement of estate.

$\frac{1}{4}$  acre with two houses, surrounded by vacant land.

Lele-io-hoku received it from J. A. Kuakini in 1844. Kuakini had received it as vacant land in 1840. Native Register, Vol. 4, pg. 502.

L.C.A. 3668:1,2, Royal Patent 5514 to David Manuia

Authority was Ka'oana'eha; occupied in 1840; witnesses were Puna and Kahananui.

3668:1--Houselot with four houses (2 for Manuia, 1 for Nahina, 1 for government), enclosed with stone wall.

3668:2--Salt pans at Kahapa'akai.

3668:1 later became Hanakahi, the Parker Ranch beach house and lot.

L.C.A. 4101, Royal Patent 6385 to Kahananui

Authority was Olohana and Ka'oana'eha; occupied in 1847; witness was Puna.

". . . which I got from the alii Kaoanaeha Kuamoo, and Puna on March 31, 1847. It is a small lot at Kawaihae, which is named Koleaka." Kahananui, Native Register, Vol. 8, pg. 1.

Previous occupant was Keleikaheaawa, who identified Kahananui as his nephew. "Olohana gave me my interest during the time of Kuamoo /battle in 18197." Keleikaheaawa, Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 3.

"Kuamoo /Ka'oana'eha/ has given this place to Kahananui." Puna, Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 3.

Makahuna to Pelekane

L.C.A. 4106, Royal Patent 5098 to Kauai

Authority was Olohana and Ka'oana'eha; date of occupancy unknown; witnesses were Puna and Kelikaheaawa.

"My interest was from Kaoanaeha and Olohana. It passed to their retainers and so on until I have it." Kauai, Native Register, Vol. 8, pg. 4.

"Kauai occupies this place through Kaahunaliiole long before we lived there with Kaoanaeha. Never any objection to Kauai from Kaoanaeha." Puna, Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 3.

[apparently, Kahunaliiole--see L.C.A. 4103, below--was original authorized occupant, left lot in 1835 to begin development of what became L.C.A. 4103; and Kauai took over without objection<sup>7</sup>.

L.C.A. 4522, no royal patent, to Puna and Kaoanaeha

Authority was Kamehameha I; date of occupancy ca. 1793; witnesses were Keleikaheaawa and Naniu.

See Appendix D, (18), (19), (20); Native Register, Vol. 8, pg. 6; Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pgs. 6-7.

L.C.A. 4103, Royal Patent 4929 to Kahunaliiole [port pilot?]

Authority was Ka'oana'eha; occupancy began in 1835, was formalized in 1842; witnesses were Naniu and Keleikaheaawa.

Houselot with four houses (3 for Kahunaliiole, 1 for government) enclosed with stone wall. Place called Ka-hale-uku [paymaster's house; perhaps could be Ka-hale-'uku, house of fleas<sup>7</sup>. Rev. Lyons's beach house was in one corner of lot, but excluded from wall. See. Native Register, Vol. 8, pg. 3; Native Testimony, Vol. 4, pg. 2. L.C.A. 4103 excluded the Lyons house from the land awarded.

There may be a connection between Olohana's death in 1835 and the land moves by Kahunaliiole in that year.



Pelekane: See Kelly 1974, pgs. 19-26. It was the royal residence of Kamehameha I and Kamehameha II at Kawaihae.

NOTE: All hearings were held at Kawaihae on September 11, 1848; all witnesses were sworn.

### Kawaihae People

Akahi, J. H.

Born at Kawaihae ca. 1843. Father was a school teacher. Testified on boundary matters in 1903.

French, William (Called "Hapuku" by Hawaiians)

Waimea merchant. Had warehouses at Kawaihae, shipped and received at Kawaihae as port. Received L.C.A. 4884 in 1848.

Kahananui

Received land from Kahunaliiole ca. 1835; in 1848 received this houselot as L.C.A. 4106.

Kahapana

Father of Mii; grandfather of Punihahiha, who received L.C.A. 3826 in 1848.

Kahihihu

Born at Kawaihae. Proud to have seen Kekuaokalani and Kamehameha I. Testified at boundary hearings in 1876.

Kahooieie

A Kawaihae 2 kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843.

Kahue

Son of Pipi; dead by 1903; knew and marked boundaries in the late 1800's, especially in inland Kawaihae when fencing needed for cattle.

Kahunaliiole (Kaahunaliiole)

May have been the pilot for port of Kawaihae. Had L.C.A. 4106 lot before Kahananui; moved to unimproved land ca. 1833, fenced it, had four houses (3 for himself, 1 for government) on it by 1848, when he received L.C.A. 4103.

Kalaimoku (Kalanimoku)

Prime minister to Kamehameha I; assigned land of Kawaihae 1 by Kamehameha I; defeated Kekuaokalani at Kuamo'o in 1819; became a Christian, one of first chiefs admitted to church; served Queen Regent Ka'ahumanu as prime minister in early years of Kamehameha III.

Kale

Brother-in-law of Makahi ca. 1841. Possibly Kale Davis. Son or grandson of Isaac Davis.

Kaleiehu

A Kawaihae 2 kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843. May be same man as Kale above.

Kalualukela

Born in inland Kawaihae early 1800's. Father was Kuhelani, uncle was a bird catcher--both were luna (foreman) under the konohiki of Kawaihae 2. Reported dead by 1903. Testified in 1873 boundary hearings.

Kamaikula (w)

Wife of Keokikepa in 1868.

Kamoeheu

A Kawaihae 1 kama'āina. Born before 1795. Testified in 1876 boundary hearings.

Kanaawa

Father of Kamoeheu; a Kawaihae kama'āina.

Kanakanu, S. M.

Government surveyor. Depended on Akahi and Nawahie for boundary data in 1903.

Kanakiokau

A Kawaihae 1 kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843.

Kaneahiku (w)

Born at Pahoā, Kahala, early 1800's. Helped carry stones at building of Kiholo fishpond. Wife of Mahi, the konohiki of Kawaihae 1 ca. 1820. Moved away from Kawaihae before 1835. Testified in 1876 boundary hearings.

Kapa (w)  
Sister of Puna.

Kapela  
A John Young associate who was killed in Kawaihae 1.  
His death precipitated boundary expansion of Kawaihae 2  
as compensation.

Kapuni  
A Kawaihae 1 kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843.

Kaue (Kauwe)  
Received L.C.A. 4091:1,2 in 1848; with four houses (3 for  
him, 1 for government) plus three salt beds. Said to be  
a boundary expert.

Kaui  
Received L.C.A. 4106; had one house enclosed by wall.

Kawai  
Lived Kohala side (north) of L.C.A. 3826; probably a  
salt maker.

Kawailepolepo  
He, or his children, killed Kapela in Kawaihae 1.

Kekuwahine (Kekuawahine) (Kekuahine)  
Probably the konohiki of Kawaihae 1, vice Naniu; if not  
konohiki, a leading overseer. Assigned land. Testified  
as witness for L.C.A. awards in 1848.

Keleikaheaawa  
Leading overseer, perhaps under Puna, for Kawaihae 2.  
Testified as witness for L.C.A. awards in 1848. A Kawaihae 2  
kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843. May have been  
konohiki of Kawaihae 2 before Puna.

Keliiwaiwaiole (w), K. Laika  
Daughter of David Manuia.

Keokikepa  
Owner of L.C.A. 4103 in 1868.

Kepaimaka  
Received L.C.A. 4094 in 1848.

Kiainui

Born at Kawaihae at time of "Oku" /oku'u: disease at time of Kamehameha I, probably cholera; father was Pielua, a birdcatcher; reported dead by 1903. Testified in boundary hearings in 1873.

Kuhelani

Father of Kalualukela; a luna (foreman) under Konohiki of Kawaihae 2.

Lele-io-hoku, W. P. (William Pitt)

A high chief, grandson of Kamehameha I by a lesser wife; named for the night Kamehameha died; married to Nahi'ena'ena, sacred daughter of Kamehameha, in 1835; later married Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani; joint heir with Princess Miriam Kekauluohi to estate of Kuakini; died of measles in 1848; posthumously awarded L.C.A. 9971 in settlement of his estate.

Mahi

Konohiki of Kawaihae 1 under Kalaimoku. Husband of Kaneahiku. Buried in cliffs of Honokua gulch. Lived between Makahuna and Kauhuhu gulches.

Makahi

Related to Kale by marriage. Received L.C.A. 3669 in 1848.

Manuia, David (Maui) (Monrissa)

Received L.C.A. 3668:1,2. Left award to Laika Keliwaiwaiole, his daughter. Overseer of 'ili of Kaholei in Kawaihae 2 for Puna.

Mii

Father of Punihahiha (L.C.A. 3826); died in time of Kamehameha I.

Nahea

Born at Kawaihae during reign of Kamehameha I; young when Kamehameha I died in 1819. Testified in 1874 boundary hearings.

Nahina (w?)

Lived in a separate house on L.C.A. 3668:1 (Manuia) in 1848.

Nakoana (w)

Mother of Kamoehau; a kama'āina of Kawaihae.

Naniu

Probably the konohiki of Kawaihae 1, retired perhaps by 1848. Testified for L.C.A.'s along entire Kawaihae beach.



Nawahi (Nawahie), S. W.

Born Kawaihae ca. 1838; father was a bird catcher and mother was a boundary expert.

Nuholo

A Kawaihae kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843.

Pae

A Kawaihae 2 kama'āina with boundary knowledge in 1843.  
Father of Kapa (w) and Puna.

Paimaka

Lived Kohala (north) side of L.C.A. 3826; testified for L.C.A.'s in 1848; probably a salt maker.

Parker, John Palmer, II

Born 1827 in Kohala. Brother of Ebenizer and Mary Ann Parker; uncle of Samuel. Leased L.C.A. 3668:1,2 ca. 1876. Testified on boundary matter in 1876. Died 1891.

Parker, Samuel

Nephew of John Palmer Parker II; in direct line of ownership of Parker Ranch; took lease of L.C.A. 3668:1,2 for ten years in 1896.

Pielua

Father of Kiainui.

Pipi

Father of Kahue

Punihahiha

Received L.C.A. 3826 in 1848; received houselot in time of Kamehameha I.

Spencer, Ashford

Acquired interest from Keokikepa in L.C.A. 4103 in 1868.

Spencer, Frances Tasmania

Acquired interest from Keokikepa in L.C.A. 4103 in 1868.

Wahinenui, L. P.

Born in North Kohala 1827; moved to Kawaihae ca. 1839.

/(w) = wahine, i.e. female

PALAPALA HOONA.

Ua ae aku i keia la ka poe hoona kumu kuleana aina ia Thermi Anu  
nona ke Kuleana Hela 8075 Part 1; he kuleana kona malalo ilio o ke Ano Alodio, a e hiki  
no ia ia ke hoololi no ke kuleana Alodio mamuli o ke Kanawai, aia i kona manao, a i ole ia, e loa ia ia ke  
kuleana no na makahiki he Kanakolu, aia i kona manao.

O keia palapala ke hoonaopopo i kona kuleana malalo ilio o ke Ano Alodio i ka aina ana i hoopii mai  
ai o Kawaihu Kukina he Alupua keia  
ma Hokula, ma ka Mokupuni o Kauai  
ke hookaaia na mea lilo no ka hana ana na na dala he \$ 5 - (China Dala)

A i ole e hookaaia ua mau dala la, aole e lilo keia palapala i kuleana maopopo ia ia. Ua hookoia keia  
kuleana mamuli o ke Kanawai hou i hooholoia ma ka la 19 o Iune M. H. 1852. Aka, koe nae na kuleana o  
na kanaka maloko.

Ma ke kauoha ana mai a na Luna Hoona kumu kuleana aina.

Halehoona, Honolulu, Oahu.

17 o December 1853

C. L. Nailiili  
Kakauolelo o na Luna.

Loa mai ia'u na dala e like ma ka olelo maluna.

Keena Hoona, Honolulu.

o October 11<sup>th</sup> 1854 J. H. Smith  
Es

## APPENDIX H

### KA'OANA'EHA

There follows below in chronological order the historical references found to date concerning Ka'oana'eha and not directly concerned with land commission awards at Kawaihae. Award matters are covered in the report. These references are either supplemental to or support data about Ka'oana'eha and others used in the report.

Ka'oana'eha was also known as Mrs. John Young, although no record has been found of a formal marriage. She was also known as Mary Kuamo'o, Melie Kuamo'o, Ka'oana'eha Kuamo'o and "Kaowanaeha." A short discussion follows the references.

- (1) The author, a member of a chiefly family, presents her family tradition. Among other items is one that indicates that high chief Keli'imaika'i married high chiefess Kaliko'oalani of the Mamao line of chiefs. Their daughter was Ka'oana'eha, who was 14 or 15 years of age when she first met John Young at the court of Kamehameha I.

Pratt 1920, p. 37

- (2) "The first wife of Young died of a pestilence, supposedly cholera which swept the Islands in 1804 . . . . On the death of his first wife, Young married Ka'anaeha, a niece of Kamehameha I, by whom he had two sons, James and John, and several daughters." /The author was an Anglican Bishop and close to Queen Emma./

Restarick 1924, p. 22  
(James, however, was  
the son of the first wife)

- (3) May 21, 1807

"A large double canoe came round the point and entered /Kealakekua/ bay at seven in the morning, and soon after we had the pleasure to see the Viceroy, Mr. Young, on board; in his suite I distinguished his lady, a niece of Tamaahmaah, who for looks and manners, appears much superior to any of the sex yet seen here."

Iselin, n.d., p. 66

(4) June 13, 1807

[at Kealakekua bay] "Mrs. Young, who has lived some time on board with her husband, retired this morning to the high bluff near the well, where a temporary shed had been raised for her with coconut leaves. It seems that during certain indisposition the females are obliged under pain of death to withdraw for some days to the woods or some solitary spot."

Iselin, n.d. p. 71

(5) December 14, 1825

[at Kawaihae] Kamehameha I gave John Young his niece. "Her name is Kaoanaeha. This woman is still living with him and has a large family of children, most of whom have arrived to years of maturity."

Bishop 1825

(6) December 15, 1825

[Rev. A. Bishop ready to leave Kawaihae] " . . . but the importance of Mrs. Young has induced me to spend the day at the place in imparting religious instruction to herself and people. Pass the whole morning in answering questions. Mrs. Y. the wife of my host and several of her people have for more than a year past, been deeply interested in religious things . . . Upon the whole, the word of God appears to have influenced her heart, together with the hearts of her family, to have cordially embraced the Saviour."

Bishop 1825

(7) 1828

[at Kawaihae] "[John Young] had married a native woman of rank, has a fine family of sons and daughters, and is considered a chief . . . got up at midnight, went down to the grass house of Mrs. Young, which was neat and comfortable. She is a noble woman. She lives in native style; . . ."

L. Judd 1928, p. 36



(8) June 26, 1834

" . . . First, I hereby Bequeath and confirm my dear Wife Mary otherwise called Kuamoo in possession of all those Lands which she antecedent to the date hereof has received in free gift from me. To Wit one Land situated in the District of Puna and called Kamomoa also one Land situated in the District of Hamakua called Koloakiu also four Lands situated in the District of Kohala namely Opuowao, Hoowalihalava, Kealahewa and Kaupo, all in the island of Hawaii. . . ."

John Young's will;  
Probate 2404,  
Supreme Court;  
Record Book 1, p. 21

(9) February 23, 1837

/at Kawaihae/ " . . . and called upon Mrs. Young, widow of the late John Young, the oldest foreign resident of the Sandwich Islands. . . .Mrs. Young is a sister of the old King Tamehameha, and is now probably sixty years of age, a very pleasant and lady-like old woman."

Townsend 1839, p. 280  
(he was confused as to  
her relationship to  
Kamehameha I)

(10) January 22, 1850

"Melie Kuamoo died January 22, 1850, relict of Jno. Young, and mother of His Ex. Keoni Ana, Minister of Interior, age 62 at the residence of Dr. Rooke."

Polynesian, January 26,  
1850, p. 147, col. 3

(11) January 23, 1850

A diary entry indicates Ka'oana'eha was buried January 23, 1850 in the "Cemetary of Chiefs," outside of the Royal Cemetary."

Richards 1970, p. 341

(12) 1866

Obituary of Grace Kamaikui Rooke, 1866 "She was the second daughter of John Young. Her Majesty Queen Emma's mother being the oldest, and was of high chief blood, her mother being Kaoanaeha, the daughter of Keliimaikai, a kinsman and warrior of Kamehameha I. From the family Bible of John Young, which is preserved in the family, we learn that the deceased lady was born at Kawaihae September 8, 1808."

Hawaiian Gazette,  
July 28, 1866, p. 2,  
col. 3

(13) 1880

Obituary of Fanny Kekela Naea, 1880 "The high chiefess Fanny Kekulapoiwa Kekelaokalani Young, passed away on the morning of the 4th instant, at the ripe age of 76 years. The departed chiefess was mother of our revered Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonalani. The deceased was a daughter of the Englishman John Young, so faithfully attached to and so distinguished in the service of Kamehameha, the founder of the Hawaiian dynasty. Her mother was the high chiefess Kaowanaeha, who gave birth to the departed chiefess on the 21st day of July, 1804, when the Conqueror was in the height of his career. . . . The remains of the distinguished deceased lie in state at the mansion of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, and on the 3rd of October will be conveyed in state to their final resting place among the remains of Hawaiian Kings at the Royal Mausoleum."

Pacific Commercial  
Advertiser, September 11,  
1880, p. 2, col. 4

The fragmentary documentation available indicates that Ka'oana'eha was out of favor in Honolulu chiefly circles in her later lifetime, say from before 1835 through 1850. Her short obituary, (10) above, indicates this because of its minimum identification of her family relationships and without mention of her chiefly status. The diary entry (11), which concerned her burial, was by a missionary wife closely associated with the children of the high chiefs in a boarding

school situation. If not kept from them by their parents, the children would have been aware of Ka'oana'eha and her status as a high chiefess. The missionary wife's diary reflected the attitude of the chiefs' children. As in the obituary, she identified Ka'oana'eha merely as the mother of the Premier. The burial itself (no Christian service is mentioned) lacked the pomp and attention given other dead of the high chief class both before and after 1850. Safely dead and buried for years, Ka'oana'eha had her status acknowledged again by 1866--see (12) (13) above.

Supporting the view that Ka'oana'eha may have been an embarrassment to her relatives and other high chiefs in Honolulu is the 1856 formal, state announcement by His Hawaiian Majesty Kamehameha IV that he intended to marry. The King announced during a secret privy council meeting that his intended bride was " . . . Emma, Daughter of T.C.B. Rooke Esquire M.D., and grand Daughter of the late John Young Esquire; . . ." Kuykendall (1966:II:275) noted that "the king mentioned only the English ancestors of Emma and not the Hawaiian ancestors, from whom her rank as a chief was derived." (See Privy Council records Vol. X:47, May 19, 1865. The marriage took place June 19, 1856). It could be argued that John Young was a high chief in his own right, having won in a sense a battlefield commission as high chief from Kamehameha I.

The use by Ka'oana'eha of the name Kuamo'o may provide a clue to this apparent loss of favor. She was known as Kuamo'o, (8) (10) above, both before and after the "Great Revival" of Christian religion in the Islands, 1837-1840 (Kuykendall 1957:II:114, 335). To the palace and the Christian chiefs, the name Kuamo'o may have signified resistance on her part to Christianity and Western values, and support on her part of the traditional Hawaiian values, perhaps including the pre-1819 Polynesian religion. Her family was associated with defense of that religion.

Kuamo'o was the name of the 1819 battle between forces led by Kekuaokalani and the forces of Kamehameha II. Kekuaokalani led an armed revolt against the king. Kekuaokalani was killed and his army routed. Kamehameha I left to Kekuaokalani the guardianship of the family war god, a position which implied also guardianship of the Polynesian religion. Kekuaokalani supported the retention of the Polynesian taboo system recently overthrown by Kamehameha II. Ka'oana'eha and Kekuaokalani were brother and sister.

A high chiefess who symbolized in her name and perhaps her life the resistance to the Westernization promoted by Kamehameha II

and Kamehameha III would be a political embarrassment. Perhaps the palace intimates, including her son, the Premier, were thankful that Ka'oana'eha kept a low profile through her residency at Kawaihae on another island. Another high chiefess with similar leanings did not keep a low profile and lived in Honolulu. This was Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani, half-sister of Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V. At times, she was a contender for the throne; and always a political embarrassment.

The apparent lack of a Christian funeral service for Ka'oana'eha in 1850 implies that she, even though familiar with its teachings, (6) above, rejected Christianity. Perhaps she did not attend services in the Congregational Church structure which stood behind her home at Pahukanilua from 1834 through her death in 1850. The authorization to locate a Christian church there may have been exclusively that of John Young. Young was a known supporter of Christianity and aided the landing and operations of Congregational missionaries. But he did not join the Congregational Church. There is evidence that Young was of the Anglican persuasion (he wrote, evidently from memory, the prayer of St. Chrysostom in his log book). This raises the question of the relationship between John Young and Ka'oana'eha. Was their marriage a matter of state mandated by Kamehameha I? Their separate housing establishments maintained over decades at Pahukanilua support this thesis. To carry their apparently diverse religious convictions into the second generation, it can be said that Keoni Ana and Grace Kamaikui Rooke followed their father's lead; while Fanny Kekela and Jane Lahilahi followed their mother's.

Finally, there is the question of the relationship between Ka'oana'eha and Puna, the man who was her resident land manager at Kawaihae and with whom she received L.C.A. 4522 for her houselot at Pahukanilua. As John Young's wife or concubine and later widow, Ka'oana'eha may have cohabited, perhaps conspicuously, with Puna at Pahukanilua.



## GLOSSARY

AHUPUA'A	Land division, usually extending from mountain to sea, not a unit of area, such as an acre.
ALI'I	High chief or chiefess, king, queen, noble.
'ILI'ĀINA	A land division within an ahupua'a. An ahupua'a is made up of several 'ili'āina.
KONOHIKI	Resident land manager of an ahupua'a, appointed by the ali'i to which the ahupua'a is assigned.
KAMA'ĀINA	One born in, raised in, and usually still resident of an ahupua'a.
L.C.A.	Land Commission Award by the Kingdom of Hawai'i.
LUNA	Foreman, as one who may direct affairs within an 'ili'āina, and works under direction of a konohiki.
MAKAHĀ	A grate in a fishpond sluice which serves to retain adult fish within the pond; usually carries an individual name.
MAKAI	A direction toward the seashore when viewed from inland; the seashore area itself.
MAUKA	A direction toward inland when viewed from the seashore or from offshore.
PAHALE	A houselot enclosed by a stonewall.

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